

Communist Political Assn. Formed

WEATHER
Fair and
Warmer

Daily Worker

Story on page 2



★★
Edition

(Two Sections)

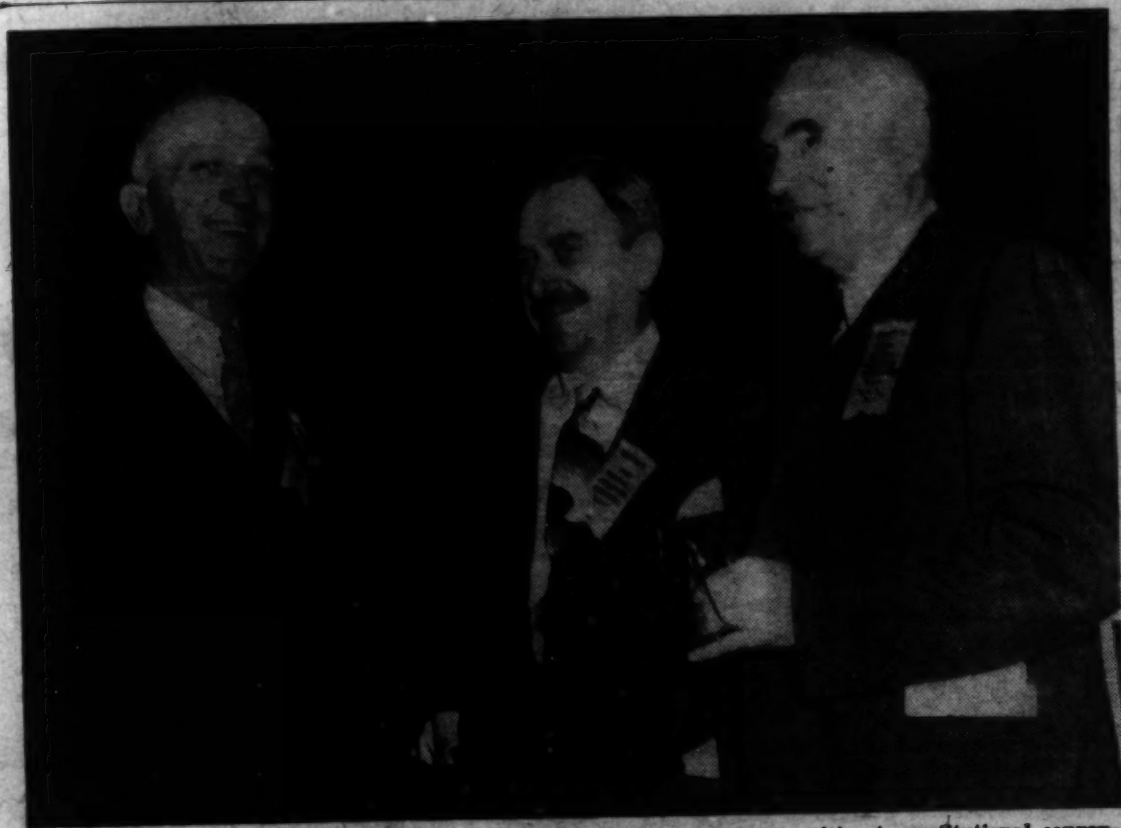
Vol. XXI, No. 122

New York, Monday, May 22, 1944

(16 Pages) Price 5 Cents

ALLIES TAKE FONDI, SPLIT NAZI FRONT IN 3 PLACES

Yanks, British, French Hammer Enemy Back



Communist Association Formed: Leading American Communists at constitutional convention. William Z. Foster chaired the first session of the new Communist Political Association; Earl Browder made the main address and presented the preamble to the Constitution; Robert Minor will speak on 25 years of the American Communist movement at today's session. —Daily Worker photo

ALLIED HEADQUARTERS, Naples, May 21 (UP).—American troops in an eight-mile advance have captured Fondi, cracking the Germans' third defense line in western Italy, and French forces have blocked the Pontecorvo-Pico road in parallel blows that split the enemy front into three crumbling segments, it was disclosed tonight.

Fondi fell late Saturday to an American armored column which, surprising and overrunning the German defenders, thus reached a point only 30 miles from the Anzio beachhead and 58 miles from the heart of Rome.

A second American column swept up the sandy Tyrrhenian coast to within eight miles of burning Terracina, meeting only scattered resistance from German rear guards who were being harried by long-range artillery and clouds of planes. The entire German right wing became isolated by the fall of Fondi and was believed falling back beyond Terracina into the Pontine marshes, which have again been partly flooded by the enemy.

FRENCH CUT OFF SECTOR

French troops simultaneously threw an artillery and patrol blockade across the Pontecorvo-Pico road, cutting off the still-intact upper section of the Nazi defenses from the mid-section running between Pico and Fondi. The Germans were counter-attacking savagely on the upper section and a Polish spearhead which had penetrated Piedmonte on the slope of Mt. Cairo fell back while British columns were still stalled before Aquino.

By interdicting the Pontecorvo-Pico road, the French cut the hinge between the Nazi front and the "swing" or alternate line running from Pontecorvo to Terracina, throwing enemy lateral supply traffic onto a roundabout road leading off the Via Casilina 10 miles beyond Aquino. Another French column captured the village of Campo-Dimele, four miles south of Pico.

ALLIES TAKE FONDI

The Germans had been expected to make a strong stand at Fondi to preserve the "swing" line—their last before the marshes—but Maj. Gen. Geoffrey Keyes' forces seized the town quickly after overrunning four machine-gun posts and two self-propelled guns.

Front reports said that the town, with a peace-time population of more than 9,000, had been badly wrecked by Allied bombing but the Germans left intact a bridge leading into it. Twenty minutes after the first infantrymen entered, five generals were in the town, indicating that powerful American forces were moving up to squeeze the Germans between the "swing" line and the beachhead.

FONDI, Italy, May 21 (UP).—American tanks rolling down the Appian Way led the charge into this historic town yesterday and 20 minutes after the first American infantrymen entered Fondi, five generals had moved in alongside them.

The Germans had a number of dugouts and machinegun emplacements in Fondi's ruined buildings, but they were unable to use them. The American advance was so brazen that our communications men laid wire up to the outskirts of the battered town even before infantry had captured it.

The infantry over-ran four machineguns and two self-propelled guns to win the town after an eight-mile advance from Itri in 24 hours.

2,500 Planes Batter French Invasion Coast

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CIO Says NLRB Distorts Wagner Act

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FDR Orders Ward Unit Seized

Hummer Plant Taken Over by Army
After Defiance of War Labor Board

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3 Enemy Burma Bases Isolated

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Communist Assn. Born; Constitution Adopted

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

Pledging to forward America's best traditions, the Communist Political Association was formally organized yesterday at a constitutional convention at Riverside Plaza Hotel.

Exactly at 1 p.m., the motion which adopted the new association's constitution in full was passed unanimously and the organization was born. A five minute demonstration greeted the adoption of the motion.

"The Communist Political Association is a non-party organization of Americans," say the first words of the preamble to the constitution of the association which "basing itself upon the working class, carries forward the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, Paine, Jackson and Lincoln, under the changed conditions of modern industrial society."

This preamble was adopted early in the morning session upon motion of Earl Browder, general secretary of the now-dissolved Communist Party.

In explaining the preamble Browder said in part: "We have given in this preamble the firm basis of our movement upon the best traditions of America from the American Revolution on and at the same time we have very carefully eliminated any suggestion that this means a tendency to return to the past, but that it is a complete facing of the future on the basis of the best achievement of the past."

Immediately upon the passage of the preamble, Chairman Roy Hudson of Constitution Committee presented the new constitution which was adopted, first seriatim, then as a whole. Under its provisions officers of the association will be a president, vice-president and a secretary-treasurer, to be elected by the national convention, highest authority in the association.

A national committee is provided for, to carry through the decisions of the national convention. It shall select a national board, the size of this board to be decided upon by a majority vote of the national committee. The number of vice-presidents and the size of the national committee are to be fixed by the hands of the convention.

DUES DISCUSSION

Extensive debate dealt yesterday with dues. The Constitution Committee had recommended that flat dues of \$1 a month be charged with special dues of 50 cents or 25 cents per month to be granted by the club secretary where special circumstances so require. Annual dues were set at \$10 per year for those who wish to pay in that manner.

The debate arose over the second provision. Phil Bart of Illinois and Andrew Onda of Connecticut argued that there should be a fixed sum set for the dues classification below

(Continued on Page 4)

There Are Still Some Tickets

You Are Cordially Invited—

THE EVENT—Public session of the Constitutional Convention of the Communist Political Association.

THE PLACE—Madison Square Garden, 50th St. and Eighth Ave.

THE TIME—Tuesday evening, May 23, at 7:30 sharp.

SPEAKERS—Earl Browder and other prominent figures.

ENTERTAINMENT—A revue featuring Josh White, Laurie Duncan, Jack de Merchant and Bernie Kern.

ADMISSION—50 cents to \$2.

WHERE OBTAINABLE—At Workers Bookshop, 50 E. 13 St.



Two of the nation's top-scoring fighter pilots, Capt. John T. Godfrey (left), Woonsocket, R. I., and Capt. Don Gentile, Fiqua, O., smile at their mothers after a reunion in Washington, D. C. Home on a 30-day leave, the airmen, who flew sorties together, agreed they wouldn't be alive today without each other's aid, nor would their score of enemy planes be as high without the other.

CIO Accuses NLRB of Retreat From Principles of Wagner Act

WASHINGTON, May 21 (UP).—The Congress of Industrial Organizations, accused the National Labor Relations Board tonight of retreating from the principles of the Wagner Act and showing "irre-

sponsibility and a complete lack of understanding of our war problems."

The blast was the second aimed at the board by the CIO in the past month. It singled out member Gerard Reilly, blaming him for the new policies and for "subverting the fundamental principles of the National Labor Relations Act."

The charges were contained in a resolution adopted by CIO vice-presidents at a conference with President Philip Murray and Secretary-Treasurer James Carey.

CHARGE WLB RETREAT

"Organized labor has been watching with increasing concern the series of decisions and administrative rulings by the board during the war period," the CIO said.

The CIO had three complaints: 1. The American News Case, in which the board denied protection of the Wagner Act to employees who struck to force an employer to grant an illegal wage increase. The CIO said the NLRB had illegally assumed the right "to inquire into

the legitimacy of action taken by the union" and then had denied rights guaranteed by the act. Murray previously had denounced the decision.

2. Decisions on the right of foremen to organize in which the resolution said the board had "succeeded in floundering so long as to provoke the situation (recent foremen's strikes in 13 plants) which developed in Detroit." The CIO said foremen had been given "class B citizenship."

3. The NLRB proposal to permit employers to challenge a union's bargaining status in disputes referred to the War Labor Board. The resolution said the proposed rule "actually threatens the existence of labor unions."

"In the face of labor's no-strike pledge the proposed regulation would invite a wave of petitions by employers intent upon delaying bona fide collective bargaining and thereby unquestionably provoke strife and turmoil with a terrifying impact upon war production," the CIO said.

FDR Orders Seizure Of Ward Subsidiary For Defiance of WLB

WASHINGTON, May 21

(UP).—The White House announced today that President Roosevelt had ordered the army to take over operation of the Springfield, Ill., plant of the Hummer Manufacturing Co., subsidiary of Montgomery Ward & Co., because of its defiance of War Labor Board regulations.

A concurrent War Department announcement said that Lt. Col. Nelson Talbott, Air Corps, had been designated as the department's representative to carry out the provisions of the presidential order.

Today's action resulted from a WLB order for a maintenance of membership clause in the Hummer contract with the International Association of Machinists, AFL, dated last Aug. 31. The company never complied with the order and the Board held a show-cause hearing last January. It reaffirmed its order in April, but there still was no company compliance. The machinists then went on strike because of the company's refusal to comply and the plant was shut down for a month.

The company is a war plant, making farm machinery and gun parts.

CITES PRODUCTION LAG

In a formal statement on the Hummer seizure, Mr. Roosevelt said an investigation showed that the dispute between the company and the union—referred to the White House by the War Labor Board—caused "existing and threatened interruptions" to war production at the Springfield plants and facilities.

The inquiry, he said, discloses that "the war effort will be unduly impeded or delayed . . . and the exercise of the powers vested in me is necessary to insure, in the interests of the war effort, the operation of these plants and facilities."

The seizure came on the eve of a special seven-man house committee investigation of the Chicago case. WLB Chairman William H. Davis is scheduled as the first witness, to be followed by Attorney General Francis Biddle, who directed the seizure, and Sewell Avery, president of the company.

The White House also made public a letter to the President from Davis, dated May 10, in which Davis reported the Hummer strike had caused a curtailment of production at the Bendix Aviation Corp. plant, for which the firm was a sub-contractor.

Brewster Faces Big Layoffs

PHILADELPHIA, May 21 (UP).

Preston Lockwood, president of the Brewster Aeronautical Corp., revealed today that the Navy has advised the company that it plans to cancel contracts for Corsair fighter planes, and said that unless the Navy changes its mind, deliveries will cease on July 1, with consequent "substantial layoffs" among the company's 12,250 employees.

Lockwood indicated the possibility that the company's Johnstown, Pa., and Long Island City, N. Y., plants could continue operations in other war work.

The Navy, Lockwood said, explained termination of the Corsair contract was not due to retirement of Henry J. Kaiser from the Brewster, but was part of a general cut-back in the Navy fighter program.

Petaín to Visit Hitler

By United Press

The Soviet Tass news agency reported Sunday that Marshal Henri-Philippe Petaín, accompanied by the pro-Nazi French journalist Marcel Deat, will go to Germany soon to repay Adolf Hitler's visit to Petaín in France in 1941.

How to Pressure Congress - by NAM

By ADAM LAPIN

Daily Worker Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 21.—Nine thousand corporations affiliated with the National Association of Manufacturers have just received a neatly multigraphed nine-page handbook telling them how to put the heat on Congress.

The handbook, put out by the Washington office of NAM, never quite says baldly that businessmen should offer members of Congress ways and means of augmenting their incomes. But only a very slow-witted businessman wouldn't catch the hint. Certainly the handbook stresses right at the start that the incomes of congressmen need augmenting. The handbook says:

"A congressman is a human being, living in a most uncomfortable way. His salary is \$10,000 a year. And this is important. It is not enough to meet his many demands, and yet most of his constituents look upon it as exorbitant."

Businessmen are definitely urged to impress upon congressmen the importance of their companies. Every businessman is told to inform "his congressmen as to the amount of his payroll and what this means to his district and state."

OPPOSITION PLAN

Every corporation is urged to act at once "to map out a sound public relations program designed especially to keep their congressmen informed of the part industry is playing in the home life of his community."

The purpose of this pressure campaign is "to combat the various New Deal Planners' schemes for making over the American way of life" and to "re-establish free competitive enterprise."

All of which is a round-about way of saying that the purpose is to organize opposition to the policies of the administration.

it emphasizes campaigns against "unreasonable and arbitrary rules" from Washington and tax and negotiation laws.

The businessman is urged to combat any notion that his company is making too much profit, and the handbook points out that stories about profits resulted in passage of the renegotiation law.

Although the general impression is that the NAM has made out pretty well at this session of Congress, the handbook complains:

"Congressmen will tell you they are flooded with information from their district by labor, that they hear frequently from the farmers at home, but that only rarely do they hear from industry and other forms of business enterprise in their district."

The handbook urges businessmen to get personally acquainted with their Congress in order to assure "greater coordination between industry and Congress."

Ration Dates

Processed Foods—Only blue stamps and blue tokens can now be used in buying processed foods, blue tokens being used as change. Blue stamps A-8 through Q-8, in War Book 4 are good indefinitely. Each blue stamp is 10 points. Frozen fruits and vegetables, and dried foods are point-free.

Meats and Fats—Many meats and also canned fish now have zero point value. Only red stamps and red tokens can be used in buying meats and fats, red tokens being used as change. Red stamps A-8 through T-8, in War Book 4 are good indefinitely. Red stamps U-8, V-8, and W-8 in War Book 4 become valid June 4 and will also be good indefinitely.

Beef steaks (except flank) and beef roasts, butter, margarine, canned milk and cheeses still require points.

Sugar—Stamp 30 and 31 in War Book 4 are good indefinitely for five pounds of sugar each.

Shoes—"Airplane" Stamp 1 and 2 in War Book 3 are good indefinitely for one pair of shoes each.



A French Algerian soldier, wounded near Auzonia, Italy, crouches between two trees on the battlefield as he awaits further medical attention. French troops played a big role in taking important Nazi positions of the Gustav Line.

Orlemanski Holds First Mass Since Return, Will Visit Capital

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., May 21 (UP).—The Rev. Stanislaus Orlemanski celebrated mass today in Our Lady of the Rosary Church for the first time since his suspension by Bishop Thomas M. O'Leary for an unauthorized trip to Moscow for conferences with Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin on the Russo-Polish dispute.

He read the announcements at the 8:30 and 9:30 a.m. services but preached no sermon and made no reference to his trip nor to his suspension. The Bishop suspended Orlemanski on May 13 and ordered him to a monastery, but revoked the order two days later on receipt of a letter of apology from the priest.

After today's services Father Orlemanski told a reporter that he wanted to be let alone.

Orlemanski appeared cheerful and completely rested. He suffered a collapse after returning from the Moscow conferences. He was permitted to say mass after a physical check-up by his physician yesterday.

3 Enemy Bases In Burma Cut

SOUTHEAST ASIA HEADQUARTERS, Kandy, Ceylon, May 21 (UP).—American and Chinese jungle troops have fought their way through one-third of Myitkyina, capturing the railroad station in ferocious street fighting, and all three principal Japanese bases in far northern Burma have been almost completely isolated, it was announced today.

On both the North-Burma and India-Burma Fronts the Allied forces were driving ahead relentlessly, with the prospect of a great victory before them, and Adm. Lord Louis Mountbatten announced that the enemy already had lost 25,000 men.

Kiddies Join Adults In Price Control Drive

Consumer activity continues today with a children's price control parade by the Upper West Side Consumer Council. Five hundred are expected to march at 3 p. m. from the Joan of Arc Victory Center, 93d St. and Amsterdam Ave., Manhattan.

The Crown Height Consumer group holds an outdoor rally at 2 p. m. at Utica Ave. and Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn. At Sutter and Howard Aves. in Brooklyn, the Brownsville and East New York Council will rally at 1 p. m.

Tomorrow, the Flatbush Consumer Council meets at Coney and Flatbush Aves., at 2:30 p. m.

2,500 Planes Lash French Coastal Invasion Targets

LONDON, May 21 (UP).—Allied warplanes rained destruction on France and perhaps other European targets despite thick cloud cover today, with heavy bombers smashing at the Pas De Calais invasion coast in the van of assaults by an estimated 2,500 planes.

Tito Routs 3 Chetnik Battalions; Nazi Trucks Aid Mikhailovitch

LONDON, May 21 (UP).—Intensified fighting between Chetnik and Partisan forces throughout Yugoslavia was reported today by Marshal Josip (Tito) Broz who charged that Gen. Draja Mikhailovitch, rival army leader who has been dropped as Royal Yugoslav War Minister, personally had taken charge of operations against Partisan forces on the Serb-Sanjak border.

Tito's communique, coming less than 24 hours after King Peter eliminated Mikhailovitch from the government-in-exile, appeared to doom any attempt to reconcile the two guerilla leaders, a move which was expected for the purpose of ending the grim Yugoslav civil war and uniting all fighting forces against the Germans in the Balkans.

Yugoslav Partisan headquarters asserted that strong German reinforcements, including Mikhailovitch's Chetnik troops, transported in Nazi trucks, were pouring into Serbia where Tito's forces were said to have recently opened an offensive against Axis communications in the strategic Vardar Valley.

Battles between Tito's Partisans and troops reportedly under Mikhailovitch's command also were said to be underway in Hercegovina, where a strong German and Chetnik column was driven back to Trebinje, and in western Bosnia, where the Partisans defeated three Chetnik battalions.

Chinese Still Holding Loyang

CHUNGKING, Monday, May 22 (UP).—Chinese troops are still holding the Japanese in the suburbs of Loyang, on the Honan Province front below the Yellow River, and have destroyed four Japanese tanks with hand grenades, front line dispatches said today.

A Chinese communique reported that the first phase of the Chinese offensive, west of the Salween River near the Burma border, had been concluded successfully and that enemy forces which counterattacked in an attempt to retake the key Mamien Pass, had been repulsed after hours of bitter fighting.

Lange Quotes Stalin on Poland

MOSCOW, May 21. (UP).—Oscar Lange, University of Chicago professor who accompanied the Rev. Stanislaus Orlemanski on his recent visit to Moscow, said in a statement issued before he left here that Marshal Joseph Stalin desires a strong Poland, it was learned today.

The Polish-born Lange, who said he had been received by Stalin during his visit with the Springfield, Mass., Catholic priest, quoted the Soviet leader as saying that Poland will play "a very important role in Europe."

"It is in the interests of the Soviet Union that Poland be strong," Lange quoted Stalin as saying.

Lange's statement stressed the point that he had come to the Soviet Union as a private citizen and that he represented "nobody but myself." Lange said he planned to return to the United States.

Venezuela Ban On Unions May Be Lifted

CARACAS, Venezuela, May 21 (ALN).—"All trade unions are likely to be legalized again by the end of this month if they agree to abandon political programs," Cordido Rodriguez, labor inspector, said here this week.

Reconversion Problems Must Be Tackled Now, Gil Green Says

Problems of reconversion to civilian production "must be grappled with now," Gilbert Green, New York Communist secretary told the delegates of the Communist Political Association yesterday.

Green spoke as he reported out the resolution of the convention's committee on reconversion.

Noting that the military program already calls for heavy cutbacks of orders, Green pointed out that the reductions will be even heavier when the European invasion is carried out.

"We face then the prospect of sizable unemployment of experienced factory workers in the midst of the war effort," he said. "The magnitude of this problem may become apparent during the election campaign and, perhaps, during the most strenuous military effort the United States will have ever undertaken."

While stressing the urgency of

"careful planning now" to "minimize the danger of a panic later," Green cautioned against injury to the "number one task" of assuring everything needed to win the war. The convention's resolution, he said, puts a primary priority on the needs of war industries and those engaged in war-supporting production. Only after those demands are fully satisfied should remaining productive capacity be available for civilian production.

One difficulty to partial reconversion of civilian production is the fear of some employers to allow competitive advantage to those in their industries who could go into earlier civilian output. As a result there is an "all or nothing" policy. Policies must be worked out without delay to meet the problem, Green said, noting no proposal that would release unbranded civilian products while the war is still on.

Russian Priest Vows Loyalty

MOSCOW, May 21 (UP).—All Soviet newspapers today carried prominently the letter sent by acting Patriarch Alexei to Premier Joseph Stalin in which the successor to the late Metropolitan Sergei pledged fidelity to the country and government as well as to the church.

Referring to the services of the late Patriarch of all Russia, who died last Monday after 19 years as head of the Russian Orthodox Church, Alexei said:

"We, his closest collaborators, knew his feelings and most sincere love and devotion to you, the God-appointed leader of the peoples of our great union."

PLEDGES CHURCH LOYALTY

Alexei said God has destined him to take over the leadership of the church according to Sergei's testament and expressed his desire to state his own feeling in that regard.

"In my future conduct, I shall be unfailingly guided by the principles which characterized the activity of the late Patriarch and will follow the canons and rules of the church on one hand and be unfailingly faithful to the motherland and the government headed by you on the other hand," Alexei wrote.

"I shall be protected from mistakes and false steps by acting in complete accord with the State Council on Church Affairs and the Holy Synod."

The press also featured Alexei's biography. Born Sergei Vladimirovich Simansky in Moscow in 1877, he was graduated from the law school of Moscow university in 1899 and from the Moscow Theological Academy in 1904 after taking the monastic vows.

He occupied the posts of inspector at the theological academies of Pskov, Tula and Novgorod and became abbot of the great Novgorod monastery in 1904 and bishop of the Tikhvin in 1913.

Continuing his rise in the hierarchy, he became Metropolitan of Leningrad in 1933 and stayed in the embattled city throughout the entire German siege, for which he was awarded the Leningrad Defense Medal.

Red Army Kills 800 Germans

LONDON, Monday, May 22 (UP).—Red Army forces killed approximately 800 Germans yesterday in turning back attacks in the Stanislawow area of southeastern Poland and along the lower Dnestr River northwest of Tiraspol, Moscow announced early today.

The broadcast Soviet operational war bulletin for the 30th successive day reported no important changes on the major sectors of the Eastern Front and said that in Saturday's minor actions 52 enemy planes were shot down by Soviet forces.

BOSTON OBSERVANCE

BOSTON, May 21.—Unveiling of a memorial plaque to merchant seamen on Boston Common will feature observance of National Maritime Day here.

About 250 Liberators and Fortresses, guarded by as many fighter planes, loosed their bombs through heavy clouds over Pas De Calais without meeting a single enemy fighter. Opposition was limited to heavy but brief bursts of ground fire.

Other big formations of medium Marauders and fighter bombers undeterred by the poor weather over the continent, roared through clouds over the channel in a constant procession throughout the afternoon to strike at French rail targets and airfields.

The swift sweeps over Germany by daylight followed RAF attacks on unnamed objectives in western Germany last night. The RAF planes also laid mines in enemy waters and returned without losses.

(The United Nations radio broadcast a report from Sweden that telephone communications between Stockholm and Berlin had been interrupted.)

A single German raider dropped bombs at one point in southeast England Saturday night, causing some damage but injuring no one, a British announcement said.

Nation Honors Seamen Today

A grateful nation will pay unprecedented tribute to the American Merchant Marine today in observance of National Maritime Day.

Recognition of the great role played by the men who "keep 'em sailing" in delivering to battlefronts scattered all over the world prompts this largest of all maritime celebrations.

A feature of the day's ceremonies will be the presentation of more than 5,000 Mariners' Medals, the merchant marine's equivalent of the Purple Heart, to merchant seamen or the families of those wounded or missing in combat.

SPECIAL PROCLAMATION

In New York, Mayor LaGuardia issued a special proclamation in connection with the observance asking all citizens to pause for a moment of silence at 11 a.m. in prayer for the safety of "those men who are sacrificing so much in order that our fighting men receive the necessary and vital supplies."

Special ceremonies will be held at 2 p.m. in the headquarters of the National Maritime Union, 345 W. 17 St., where a memorial to 5,500 seamen dead in line of duty, will be dedicated.

Speakers will include Mayor LaGuardia, Vice Admiral R. R. Waesche, CIO President Philip Murray and Frank J. Taylor, president of the American Merchant Marine Institute. Joseph Curran, NMU president, will preside.

At 10 a.m. the U. S. Maritime Service is holding demonstrations at the Training Station at Sheepshead Bay and aboard the USMS Training Ship American Seaman. At noon on the steps of the Subtreasury Building, the Army, Navy and Coast Guard are joining the marine industry in a salute to Maritime Day.

British Unions Act

LONDON, May 21 (ALN).—An important step toward the unification of unions covering 2,250,000 shipbuilding and engineering workers was taken this week when the annual conference of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, taking place at Newcastle-on-Tyne, unanimously resolved to revise the confederation's constitution to allow the affiliation of additional unions.

Communists Unanimously Adopt Constitution Preamble

Delegates to the first convention of the Communist Political Association yesterday unanimously passed the preamble to the Constitution introduced by Earl Browder.

The preamble sets forth the aims of the new organization which "is shaped by the needs of the nation at war." The association "bases itself upon the working class" and carries forward the traditions of America's foremost patriots.

It adheres to the principles of Marxism and strives to "inaugurate an era of world peace, expanding production and economic well-being."

The preamble in full states:

The Communist Political Association is a non-party organization of Americans which, basing itself upon the working class, carries forward the traditions of Washington, Jefferson, Paine, Jackson and Lincoln, under the changed conditions of modern industrial society.

It seeks effective application of democratic principles to the solution of the problems of today, as an advanced sector of the democratic majority of the American people.

It upholds the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights, and achievements of American democracy, against all the enemies of popular liberties.

It is shaped by the needs of the nation at war, being formed in the midst of the greatest struggle of all history; it recognizes that victory for the free peoples over fascism will open up new and more favorable conditions for progress; it looks to the family of free nations, led by the great coalition of democratic capitalist and socialist states, to inaugurate an era of world peace, expanding production and economic well-being, and the liberation and equality of all peoples regardless of race, creed or color.

It adheres to the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism, the heritage of the best thought of humanity and of a hundred years experience of the labor movement, principles which have proved to be indispensable to the national existence and independence of every nation; it looks forward to a future in which, by democratic choice of the American people, our own country will solve the problems arising out of the contradictions between the social character of production and its private ownership, incorporating the lessons of the most fruitful achievements of all mankind in a form and manner consistent with American tradition and character.

For the advancement of these aims, the Communist Political Association establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution.

Summary of Resolutions Endorsed by CPA Delegates

Every fundamental phase of American life was touched in a series of resolutions adopted by the delegates to the Communist convention. They include:

1. **National Unity for Victory, Security and a Durable Peace.** "America now enters the most decisive phase of the war." . . . In essence, the resolution stated: To further strengthen the national war effort, the unity of the nation and orderly progress in the postwar, it is essential to build a stronger labor movement and democratic mass movement.

2. **Reconversion.** "The problem of reconversion cannot be postponed for action until after the war." The resolution dealt with necessary legislation aimed at fast, efficient reconversion and adequate provisions to take up the unemployment slack during a briefest possible transition period to civilian production.

3. **Wage Policy.** Using the steel workers wage demands as the basis of an improved national wage policy, the substance of the resolution is indicated in its opening paragraph: "The wage demands of the steel workers deserve the active support of the entire nation. The steel workers, now as in the past, are championing the interests of the entire labor movement."

4. **Servicemen and Veterans.** "The government and the American people must meet in full their fundamental obligations to our servicemen and women as they return to civilian life, especially to guarantee them jobs and social security. . . ."

5. **Women.** "Fascism is the most deadly foe of women" and democracy must not only make adequate social and economic provisions for all women, but also acknowledge their rightful place in the political scene.

6. **Farmers.** This resolution gives a detailed analysis of the farmer's problems and pays tribute to his magnificent contribution to the world's air against fascism. . . .

7. **The South.** Submitted by the delegates from Virginia, North and South Carolina, this resolution, in its essence, paid tribute to "the magnificent war record of the southern states" and calls for the extension of complete constitutional

rights to white and Negro southerners, meanwhile urging "an adequate federal fund providing for long-term credits at low interest rates for the building and extension of new branches of private industry, agricultural undertakings, slum clearance and necessary public work."

8. **Anti-Poll Tax Bill (HR7).** "This national convention goes unqualifiedly on record for the passage of HR7, without changes, amendment or addition."

9. **Anti-Semitism.** "Anti-Semitism is un-Americanism: Its eradication is the concern and task of every American who holds dear the moral fiber of America, the democracy and freedom of his country."

10. **Wagner-Murray-Dingell Social Security Bill (S. 1161-H.R. 2861)** The convention pledged its wholehearted support to the passage of this comprehensive, vital national health measure.

11. **International Trade Union Unity.** "The achievement of international labor unity will help establish basic guarantees that the democratic nations will remain united to win the war, to establish a durable peace and to build a better world."

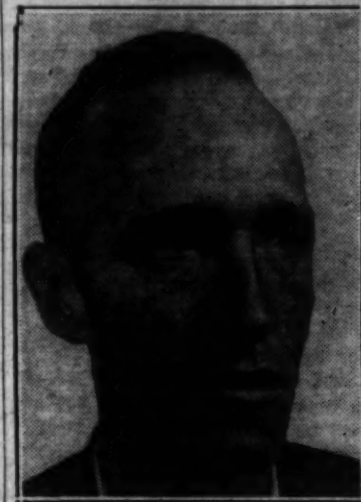
12. **China.** In substance, this resolution stated: "China and the United States must work more and more closely together in unison with all of the United Nations to realize the historic agreements of the Cairo Conference and the Declaration of Moscow . . . it is necessary for American to coordinate its military efforts in the Far East more fully with those of China and to augment lend-lease aid to China, including the Eighth Route Army."

13. **Western Hemisphere.** This resolution praised the growing hemispheric unity of the people against Hitler's plan of political and military diversions" and lauded Secretary of State Hull for his increasingly stern opposition to the spreading cancer of fascism in Argentina, Bolivia and elsewhere below the Rio Grande. The resolution sharply assailed "the maintenance of the Puerto Rican nation in colonial bondage against the will of its people . . . as 'inconsistent with the aims of the national war effort. . . ."

[Note: The above are, of course very brief descriptions of the resolutions adopted.]

Communist Assn. Born; Delegates Adopt Constitution

(Continued from Page 2)



ROY HUDSON
Delivered Report on Constitution



ISRAEL AMTER
Made Motion for New Organization



GIL GREEN
Reported on Reconversion

those paying \$1. Frederick N. Myers of New York and others spoke for the committee proposal and the matter was referred back to that body for further consideration.

Whatever the final report of that committee on this one point, the former Communist Party dues method of payment by income has been eliminated for the association.

Upon motion of Charles Krumboltz of New York, it was then agreed that initiation fees shall not be required of anyone joining the association before July 4.

Yesterday afternoon the convention went into executive session to hear a report by John Williamson for the Organization Education Committee of the convention. Subreports were given on the educational work by Sam Don and on the press by Louis Budenz. Many other delegates participated in the discussion, which was not open to the general press and therefore will not be reported in detail in this account.

NOTED VISITORS

In the evening the delegates were moved to heights of enthusiasm by the speeches of noted Latin-American fraternal delegates who had been introduced to the meeting earlier in the day. Among these speakers were Senator Elias Laferte, president of the Communist Party of Chile; Salvador Ocampo, member of the Chamber of Deputies, secretary of the Chilean Confederation of Labor and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; Senator August Duran, general secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia and Juan Luna, member of the Peruvian Congress and secretary of the Committee for Labor Unity of Peru.

A series of vital resolutions, which are summarized on this page, were adopted in the afternoon and evening session Saturday. They evoked a lively and informative discussion.

William Z. Foster, chairman of the first session of the new association, emphasized the threat of the Hoover-Dewey-McCormick Republican leadership to the winning of the war and to postwar collaboration among the nations to maintain world peace. "Their line, had it succeeded," Foster stressed, "would have stalemated the war and led to a disastrous negotiated peace with Hitler."

"A Dewey," the speaker continued, "would not prosecute the war to a complete victory, smash fascism throughout Europe, or formulate a democratic peace."

The Republicans and Dewey present a grave danger to the labor movement, Foster said, and it is up to labor with other patriotic forces to see to it that reaction is thoroughly defeated in 1944.

Gilbert Green of New York, speaking of the urgency of immediate attention to the problem of reconversion said "we face the prospect of sizeable unemployment of experienced workers in the midst of the war effort" due to the cut-back policy. This was a definite reason, he said, why the matter of reconversion "must be grappled with now."

Under the resolution on the South, Alice Burke of Virginia told of the fizzled "Byrd for President" campaign. She brought the good word that the payment of poll taxes in several districts is leading to the withdrawal of reactionaries from the race, as was the case with "Windbag" Harris, a close ally of Byrd's. On the resolution against anti-Semitism, Toohy of Michigan said that this evil is "alien to our country" and emphasized Detroit's sad experience in the race riots and the continuance of Coughlinism there.

The convention continues its sessions today.

At the Historic Communist Convention

LILA MAE THOMAS, NEGRO SHIPYARD WORKER, SHOWS THE WAY

By JOHN MELDON

It was a distinct pleasure and an experience to talk to delegate Lila Mae Thomas, who came to the Communist organizational convention in New York from Wilmington, Del.

To my way of thinking this charming Negro woman should get a medal or something if the Communist Political Association ever gets around to such formalities. Here's why. Lila Thomas joined the Communist movement two months ago and up until the time I met her, sitting intently, listening to the convention proceedings Lila had recruited 69 new members into the CPA. And I believe that this constitutes a record of that total, she brought in 50 new members from her shipyard fellow workers and from the great Sun Shipbuilding yards 14 miles north in the roaring industrial town of Chester, Pa.

She told me her greatest asset in recruiting was the pamphlet, "The Negro People and the Communists," by Doxey Wilkerson, noted Negro educator and Daily Worker columnist. "Another big help," she said, "was that I was able to truthfully

say that there is absolutely no discrimination within the ranks of the Communists. That means an awful lot to the average Negro."

JUST BEGINNING

Lila Thomas remarked casually, as we ended the interview:

"I'm not stopping recruiting just because the drive is over. I'm only beginning. I believe that the majority of the Negro people in this country are ready to come into our ranks. It's simply a matter of talking to them."

A striking feature of this historic gathering is the unusually large number of Negro delegates, especially among the delegations from the large industrial areas—Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Ohio. And in talking to the various delegation leaders, I learned that invariably the ace recruiters in the big delegations were Negroes. Two Negroes in the Michigan delegation, one a Ford employee and the other a Bohn Aluminum worker recruited between them, 146 members. That's terrific. And what makes it more terrific is that they did most of the recruiting among their fellow auto and alumi-

num workers.

Or take L. C. Fox from Chicago. Delegate Fox is a small businessman. He's comparatively new—only in the Communist movement two years. He won 55 new members, significantly enough the majority among Negro professionals—doctors, lawyers and small business people.

Of course, the whole CPA knows by now that the top-flight recruiter in New York is Mrs. Katie Thompson who did most of her recruiting in Harlem. Her total, to date, is 121 new members.

One could not find a Negro delegate one the whole convention floor who brought into the Communist ranks less than 10 new members. Many joined during the recent national drive and promptly brought a dozen or so of their friends in with them.

This is a significant trend among the Negro people as a whole. I talked with Communist leader James W. Ford and he said there can be no doubt that the Negro masses in this country are ripe for activity in the ranks of the Communist Political Association. "The work of our ace

Negro recruiters in New York, Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Delaware and the Deep South is ample proof."

And it's not only the new Negro Communists who are doing this splendid work. One can find similar stories among the old timers, like Ben Carruthers, a leader of the Western Pennsylvania OPA. Ben had recruited 44 new members up until the time he left the smoky atmosphere of that great steel center to journey as a delegate to the convention. Sally Peek, a cafeteria worker in Jilmcrow Washington brought in a modest 10 new members, and she's still plugging. Herb Hall, a Baltimore shipyard worker got 11 of his fellow-workers to join up and he's still plugging.

Of the 402 regular and fraternal delegates to the convention, 64 are Negroes. And many of them are key leaders in their unions and in the CPA. From among the total of 24,000 new members recruited in the national drive, nearly 8,000 are Negro industrial workers, white collar employees, professionals, housewives with a sprinkling of educators and clergymen.

These facts, are one of the truly inspiring features of the convention



Union Lookout

- The "Free Press"
- Cafe Society "Hot"

by Dorothy Loeb

Reporters made an informal poll of AFL Executive Council members last week at Philadelphia and found that a majority favor President Roosevelt's reelection. Interestingly enough, in a Council that includes Big Bill Hutchison and moldy Matthew Woll, reporters couldn't find a single vote against FDR. That doesn't mean that the two Republican regulars have seen the light; they just have a cute way to describe their position. Hutchison put it into words: "I'm non-partisan and I think the AFL has to be non-partisan." When you think it over, you see there's a neat trick there at that. After all, Gov. Dewey, who makes his bid for national leadership by constantly playing blank cards, qualifies for the comfortable anonymity of Mr. Non-partisan. He takes no stand on any issue you give a hang about. And another thing, the clumsy touch of Hutchison shoves the Federation's traditional "non-partisan" outlook right over the brink. The wolf that declares he's "non-partisan" about whether there's lamb for supper is less ludicrous than this long-time Republican wheelhorse in his pretenses of "taking no sides."

Declaring themselves personally for the fourth term were Dan Tobin of the Teamsters; Edward Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Harvey Brown, International Association of Machinists; George Harrison, Railway Clerks; Harry Bates, Bricklayers; Felix Knight, Railway Carmen; and William C. Birthright, Barbers.

A trade unionist writes in to tell us about the employer who told the labor-management committee: "I can go along with this continuing national unity in the postwar but would you mind telling me how long the does the postwar last?" There speaks a man with a long range view and short perspective. . . . Anita Barron of Brooklyn writes in to advise that unions working to build better relations with servicemen should pitch in to help provide entertainment for USO Club canteens. One in Brooklyn where she serves as junior hostess unfortunately permitted some anti-union gags in a recent skit. If unions would cooperate and help get shows that kind of thing wouldn't happen and soldier-labor relations would be cemented, she says.

The American Newspaper Guild will poll its membership to determine whether its coming convention should take a stand on a presidential candidate. . . . Louise Mitchell of the Daily Worker is one of 24 nominated by the Representative Assembly of the Newspaper Guild of New York as alternates to the ANG convention. Twenty-five regular delegates are nominated from New York. . . . Shop stewards representing 10,000 CIO war workers in Westchester County came out for a fourth term recently and for reelection of Vice-President Wallace and Sen. Robert Wagner. Leaders of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, they also want a rent freeze in Westchester.

The most unprotected city employees there are—the substitute teachers—congratulated the Mayor on his health plan. Cecelia Pollack, chairman of the Teachers Union Substitutes Committee, said the plan encourages them to believe the Mayor will give sympathetic consideration now to social security for subs by getting them permanent appointments. . . . Julius Emspak, UE general secretary-treasurer, has sent 28 labor leaders in 15 nations copies of the UE Guide to Political Action with a letter expressing hope for "the closest possible friendship and unity."

Boilermakers' Head Sees FEPC Chief Today, Jimcrow Is Issue

WASHINGTON, May 21.—A possibility that the AFL International Brotherhood of Boilermakers may modify or abandon its long-time jimcrow policy loomed today as Malcolm Ross, chairman of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, announced a conference tomorrow with Charles A. McGowan, union president.

Ross said the meeting with McGowan was aimed at reaching agreement on adjustment of complaints made by Negro boilermakers on the West Coast.

NAVY YARD VICTORY

The complaints, which come from thousands of workers in Portland, Ore., Los Angeles, San Francisco and other West Coast areas, demand elimination of so-called "auxiliary" lodges in which Negroes are segregated in the Boilermakers. They pay dues in the auxiliaries but are denied ordinary union rights. FEPC hearings on the complaints were held in Portland Nov. 15 and 16 and in Los Angeles Nov. 19 and 20 and in December the committee directed the union and the shipbuilding companies involved to eliminate discrimination.

Meanwhile in New York, FEPC

officials announced that racial designations will be removed from the badges of workers in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

For several years, workers had been compelled to wear badges containing among other things, the letter "W" for white or "C" for colored, a regulation long protested as discriminatory.

First FEPC efforts to win a change were met with Yard officials' insistence that designations had been ordered "for security reasons" by Washington but investigation showed that other Navy Yards didn't use them and after a series of conferences Assistant Secretary of the Navy Ralph A. Bard informed Malcolm Ross, FEPC chairman, that badges would be changed where workers desired it.

Progress has been made on adjustment of more than 50 complaints of discriminatory practice at the yard in the past two months, Edward Lawson, FEPC regional director, disclosed.

As a result, several Negro workers who claimed promotion had been denied because of race, were advanced in their ratings.

Soviet Arms Plants Top April Quotas

MOSCOW, May 21 (ICN).—The Soviet munitions industry has considerably exceeded its April plan according to the Soviet press, supplying the front with 145 per cent more munitions than in March.

CIO Forces Dewey Aide to Meet On Title Firms' Defiance to WLB

The defiance by New York title insurance companies of National War Labor Board directives will be the subject of a conference between Gov. Dewey's legislative counsel, Charles Breitman, and representatives of the United Office and Professional Workers, CIO, on May 22, in Albany.



Jackie Heller, celebrating his first year overseas as a USO entertainer, literally soars for his kiss from six-foot Elizabeth Johnstone, former showgirl now with the Red Cross. Jackie is five-foot, one-inch and he really stretched for his anniversary gift.

This development follows the announcement by Rep. Emanuel Celler that he has called on State Insurance Superintendent Robert Dineen to compel the title companies to live up to the law of the land, and sign the union contracts ordered by the NWLB. Celler pointed out that these companies are semi-public corporations operating directly under the supervision of the State Insurance Department. He charged that the failure of the state authorities to act in this case amounts to tacit approval of the activities of these companies in violating a directive from a duly constituted federal agency.

Over two years ago, the United Office and Professional Workers, CIO, was designated in a State Labor Board election as the collective bargaining agent for 1,000 title employees in Title Guarantee and Trust Company, Lawyers Title Corporation, Security Title and Guaranty Company, and Kings County Capital Corp. Prolonged effort by the Union to secure salary adjustments and signed Union contracts have been resisted by the companies ever since.

In announcing the conference at Gov. Dewey's office, Ethel Beach, union representative, declared: "Since the state authorities have the responsibility for seeing that these title insurance firms operate in conformity with public policies, we are asking that Gov. Dewey immediately direct his state insurance superintendent to take the necessary steps for compelling these companies to cease their defiance of the War Labor Board directives."

Living Costs Went Up 3%, Perkins Reveals
WASHINGTON, May 21 (UP).—Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins said tonight that higher excise taxes increased the cost of living by three per cent between March 15 and April 15.

The amount of the increase due to taxes which went into effect April 1 constituted half of the total six per cent rise recorded for that one-month period, higher food and furniture costs being responsible for the other portion of the increase, she said.

By mid-April overall living costs stood at 23.5 per cent over the January, 1941, level and 26.3 above August, 1939.

Sparked by higher prices for fresh produce, retail food prices went up four per cent during the month but still were 4.3 per cent lower than a year ago and 5.9 per cent under the peak period of May.

Boston CIO Votes 4th Term for FDR

BOSTON, May 21.—A fourth term for FDR was unanimously recommended by the Greater Boston Industrial Union Council at its meeting last Thursday night. The resolution also called for Vice-President Wallace as FDR's running mate.

KEY NOTE

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One of the most surprised Marines in the Pacific was Sgt. Anthony Mechowski of Syracuse, N. Y., when he got a letter from the President who thanked him for a P-38 model Mechowski built and sent to Washington to add to FDR's collection. The sergeant is at Cape Gloucester.

Marine Corps photo.

Laborites Map Postwar Job Aid

LONDON, May 21 (ALN).—That full employment is possible in peace as well as in war is the keynote of the Labor party's report on "Full Employment and Financial Policy," made public this week.

The primary requisites to ensure this as outlined in the report are: public ownership of major industries, a 50 per cent increase in exports, closer government control over the Bank of England and the development of backward countries by an international board. The report will be presented at the party's annual conference.

Urging that the money income of the British people should be more equitably distributed but that total expenditures should not fall, the statement warns that the immediate danger after the war will be inflation. To prevent this, it recommends continuance of price control on necessities, utility production and rationing. Government control of the Bank of England, of all bank loans, new capital issues and export of capital is also urged.

The policy of full employment requires the development of international cooperation, the statement declares, and lays down the following principles: No return to the gold standard, cooperation with other countries and development of backward countries by an international development board.

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Registered as second-class matter May 8, 1942 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

The Murder of the 47

IT'S NOT hard to guess why the Nazi regime tried to suppress the news of how 47 Allied flyers were massacred in a prison camp near Breslau last March. It is not only because this outrage violates the Geneva convention, which is supposed to guarantee humane treatment to prisoners of war. It is because the Nazis wanted to keep such atrocities from us, still hoping to divide us from our Allies, to gain a softer peace than they deserve and fear.

Sinister forces, playing the Nazi game, have always maintained that what the Germans do to the Slavs, the Greeks, the French they would not dare do to the British or American prisoners.

These same sinister forces even exploited the national indignation against Japanese outrages upon our heroes of Bataan to imply that the Germans would never be guilty of the same.

But now the truth is out. It has angered the British people and points a moral for Americans as well. These modern cannibals of Hitler's gang hate us as much as they do our allies among the Slav and the Latin peoples. In his desperation, Hitler is compelled to unleash the final weapons of terror upon us, as he has done in Europe, even though this undermines the previous effort of his propaganda.

And so Hitler's agents are exposed. Lawrence Dennis, on trial for sedition in Washington, attempted only the other day to suggest that Germany really had nothing against the Anglo-Saxon world, and merely wanted a free hand in Europe. The murder of these fliers provides the grim reply to all that.

Hearst's Journal-American on Saturday weeps crocodile tears for the plight of China, which Hearst shamefully blames on "Russian treachery" and the "faulty strategy of the Allies." Not a word about Hitler, or the relations between the Pacific and European fronts in the whole thing.

The motive is clear: to deflect attention from Germany, from the imminent invasion, to exploit sympathy for China against China's own allies.

The enemy is cruel, ruthless, unscrupulous. Rejection of his propaganda and all those who spread it; retribution upon all the war criminals must be the answer of the civilized world.

GOP Deception

LAST Monday, the House-approved Marcantonio bill to outlaw the polltax was defeated in the Senate. There was no debate on its merits, because the Republican leadership refused to end the filibuster of their friends on the Slavocracy benches.

With this legislative murder still fresh, 33 Republican senators suddenly raise their hands for a constitutional amendment to outlaw the polltax. This is one of the most shabby, cheap and contemptible tricks in the history of the nation.

It is in fact a confession of guilt, a confession that Republican votes might have defeated the polltax already. The bill might already be law, were it not for the desire of the Republicans to perpetuate the power of their Slavocrat friends in the South.

Consider the facts. To abolish the polltax by a constitutional amendment, a two-thirds vote in the Senate and the House is necessary, plus approval from three-fourths of the state legislatures. You can forget the last proviso, since it would take years and years to get such action from the legislatures. But the question arises: if the Republicans are willing to add their 37 votes in the Senate to get a two-thirds majority for the amendment idea, why were they unwilling to let their votes make the necessary two-thirds against the filibuster?

If they are so enamored of a constitutional amendment, why did they refuse to vote out the O'Mahoney proposal along the same lines when it came up in a Senate sub-committee the week before? The Republican idea, in other words, is by no means original. And their purpose is clearly factional, transparent, an over-clever bid for support of the Negro people which will boomerang upon them.

All those who want to end the polltax ought to take counsel now, and consider future action. If the Republicans really mean to abolish the polltax let some senator take their bluff and call up the Marcantonio bill for immediate action.

NAZI KULTUR



— They're Saying in Washington —

Poland and Plotters

by Adam Lapin

WASHINGTON
A COUPLE of weeks ago I wrote in this column that State Department circles expected some important developments on the Polish situation. Since that time the rumors have begun to pour out of London about a possible solution of the Polish question. Some of the London reports check with information available here; others seem distinctly off base.



It is difficult to write about this whole problem because information given Washington correspondents has been hemmed in with off-the-record restrictions. But I think it is possible in general terms to give a picture of the reports which have been made by informed American officials to the President and the State Department.

The Soviet attitude toward the present Polish government has been reported very clearly. It is simply this: that the exile government in London, despite the representation of various political parties, is actually under the thumb of the Polish military clique headed by General Sosnkowski, and that Sosnkowski considers Poland the spearhead for an inevitable western attack on the Soviet Union. This is not dismissed as a Soviet fantasy; it is known in official circles here that Sosnkowski's views are a matter of record.

SOSNKOWSKI OUSTER AS ARMY CHIEF ESSENTIAL

For the Polish National Council to recommend that Sosnkowski be barred from becoming the next president of Poland evades the issue. The anti-Soviet clique remains in power as long as he is commander of the Polish army.

If the maneuvers within the exile group in London offer no real solution, how then will a new government be formed? I think it is important to point out that neither the Soviet nor well-informed American officials think this will happen simply on the basis of negotiations with the Polish government-in-exile.

It has been emphasized in official reports to our government

that the Soviet Union anticipates that the Red Army will be enthusiastically greeted by the Polish people as any army of liberation, and that out of the ranks of the underground forces fighting Nazism will emerge new leaders who will be capable of taking over in a new democratic government friendly to the Soviet Union and acceptable to all the United Nations.

Some of the moderates in the Polish government-in-exile may then ally themselves with these progressive forces inside Poland to form a coalition. But the leadership of the new Poland is expected to come primarily from within Poland. All the hysterics of the press and of reactionary Polish groups, all the attacks on a humble and courageous Polish-American priest who realizes that Poland and the Soviet Union must work together, can't change this basic fact.

SOVIET-CZECH FACT SEEN PATTERN FOR TALKS

There is every reason to believe that responsible officials here would welcome a new Polish government of this type, and repudiate the slander of defeatist and reactionary groups that this would constitute a "puppet" of the Soviet Union. It is stressed in official circles here that the pattern of Soviet policy towards its neighbors is found in the Soviet-Czech agreement which clearly recognizes the independ-

ence and sovereignty of Czechoslovakia.

On the question of boundaries, two facts are emphasized in official circles in Washington: First, that the official Tass statement on this subject made it plain that the Soviet Union would not take an inflexible position and was willing to take the Curzon line as a basis for discussion with possible adjustments favorable to Poland. Second, that the Soviet Union considers the political question, the character of the Polish government, as at least of equal importance to boundaries.

It is on this question that no compromise is expected from the Soviet Union. One high official compared the attitude of the Soviet Union towards Poland with the State Department refusal to recognize the fascist regime in Bolivia, pointing out that in neither case was it a matter of interfering with the internal affairs of another government but rather of a legitimate concern with whether or not these countries would be good neighbors.

There is a clear understanding in official circles here that the Soviet Union will simply not tolerate a hostile buffer state on its borders as the beginning of a new cordon sanitaire. As another official put it: "They just aren't going to have the Red Army put in a regime of that kind." All the available evidence points to the conclusion that the governments of the United States and Great Britain don't want a regime of that kind in Poland either.

Worth Repeating

FREE WORLD, introducing its interview with Tito in current June issue: For a while Mikhailovitch was considered one of the most heroic figures of the underground. But soon the news seeped out that Mikhailovitch, far from being the daring hero the world had been led to believe, was in fact an extremely cautious man and that his blows against the enemy were as mild as they were rare. This was a most unpleasant awakening. . . . Another name from Yugoslavia began to creep into the world's news—Tito. And his fame has continued to grow. His own courage and that of his men, his capacity for organization have lent substance to all reports. This time the Allies did not have to rely on hearsay. Through military missions in direct contact with Tito's headquarters they gathered evidence that a great fighting force had been born. . . . After Prime Minister Churchill, in his speech of last February, acknowledged the invaluable support given the United Nations by the Partisans no one can doubt that the man of the day in Yugoslavia is Josip Broz Tito. . . . The opinions which Marshal Tito sets forth in his article are of course his own. He makes no effort to conceal a well-known fact—his membership in the Communist Party. In the fight against the Axis the European Underground, however, does not draw distinctions based on political allegiance.

Change the World

IF ANYONE wants a good name for Gov. Dewey, "our next President" (maybe), let me offer this one: The Two-Headed Calf. It is not an original nom de campagne I am offering, but a steal from a slick and smooth operator named Reuben Maury, the first Two-Headed Calf.



Students of this column will remember, I had the dubious pleasure several years ago of reporting that Mr. Maury was a homespun Wall Street philosopher who wrote leading editorials for both the Daily News and Collier's Weekly magazine.

Now there is nothing in the customs of American journalism or in the constitution of the Newspaper Guild which forbids a word-monger from washing verbal dishes in two coffee pots.

If he wants to get rich quick and develop the high blood pressures and heart murmurs which are the medals of the American climber, Mr. Maury has our approval. It is a free country.

WHAT made Mr. Maury's case a public concern was only the fact that we were in a dangerous age, and he was helping form

by Mike Gold

American public opinion on the matter of our entrance into the war. The life and death of our sons, brothers and friends were concerned, and anyone who lied about this war was a dangerous enemy to them.

Thus, in the Daily News Mr. Maury was using a thousand slick and convincing arguments to prove that this war against fascism was merely another grab for empire by greedy Europeans. Our pure America must stay out and become a belligerent neutral, he said. Which was the Hitler and Goebbels line for America, of course, the line taken by Coughlin and America First dabblers in treason.

Maury slicked it up beautifully, put the guttural and clumsy Teutonic propaganda into homely Americanese. He was well worth the high trust and splendid cash reward given him by his purple-nosed fuhrer, Captain Patterson of the Daily News.

Was he sincere? All right, he was a sincere America Firster or what have you. Shoot him, arrest him, boycott him, but at least grant that he had a point of view.

BUT Mr. Maury was too low to be even a sincere America Firster.

You could read his sneaky and slick argu-

The Two-Headed Calf And the Presidency

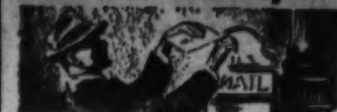
ments for Hitler "pacifism" in the Daily News all week. Then on week-ends in Collier's he turned right around and gave as many homely, American arguments to prove that we must enter the war against Hitler or see our civilization go down before the jackboots of the triumphant Nazi hordes.

It is all right for a journalist to be all things to all men, and to sell his soul for a hot dog or a house in the suburbs. This is still quite ethical in America, and they can't put you in jail. But in this war anybody who two-times the country or makes dirty money out of the war or who is cynical enough to urge us to fight the war while at the same time believing it a bad war, such a man, at the least, is a Two-Headed Calf of deception.

Gov. Dewey is the same kind of dehumanized freak as Reuben Maury. That cold, vague, calf-like beauty of the governor is getting on many nerves these days. A man who can play cheap egotist politics with the issues of a war in which millions of young Americans are engaged and in which thousands of them must die, is a man beneath contempt.

Dewey is careful not to speak out sharply on the war. He is almost a neutral. He is for the war in Collier's and against it in the Daily News. Bah, such a man does not stand up like a President. And the people know it already, and will spew him out like the Two-Headed Calf he is.

Listen Here,



Mr. Editor

Republican Slurs on Negro People

New Rochelle, N. Y.
Editor, Daily Worker:

The Republican Party has shamelessly doublecrossed the Negro people. I say "doublecrossed" because the GOP has claimed loudly to be "the party of Lincoln." They have put barriers in the way of the anti-polltax bill. This has not only been in congress and in such antics as those of Gov. Dewey. The press which supports the Republicans has been busier than a bee, too, in pooh-poohing the whole polltax issue. Hearst has steadily done this through Paul Mallon's columns. And the Macy chain of papers, hidebound Republican, have even gone so far in this county (editorial of May 17) as to quote anti-Negro Southern sources against any federal legislation. They link up the Negro masses of the South with criminals and say they both are denied the vote. This is one of the worst and dirtiest cases of Republican slurs on the Negro people that I have seen.

T. M.

Sleepless Nights

New York City
Editor, Daily Worker:

I don't like your new format. I don't like your new paper altogether. It keeps me awake nights. I can't drop it.

HARVEY READ.

Missouri Reports

Springfield, Mo.
Editor, Daily Worker:

The recent primaries in other states have served to show the Democrats of Missouri that all is not lost in spite of the so-called GOP "trend" of 1942.

Our county convention held a few weeks ago was keynoted by a local Democratic leader who told the delegates that "we have nothing to apologize for in the New Deal and advised them to ask their Republican friends if they actually want to do away with the FDIC, the REA, and the other New Deal gains. Would they really want to go back to the Old Deal that Hoover gave us? He came out in a fighting mood upholding the principles we stand for and inspired his audience to better effort, and to greater loyalty.

The lay Democrats here and elsewhere see that Roosevelt is the one leader through whom we can maintain the good things the New Deal gave us, and realize Teheran after the war; and the delegates to the state convention were instructed to vote for Roosevelt. This is evident from what happened at our state convention this week. Delegates to the national convention were likewise instructed to vote for Roosevelt.

M. S. C.

'Isolationism'

New York City.
Editor, Daily Worker:

The following respectfully submitted for insertion in Worth Repeating:

"American isolationism can be more dangerous after this war than it was before the war began." Peter Edson—The N. Y. World-Telegram, Saturday, May 6, 1944.

WATCHFUL READER.

The opinions expressed in these letters are those of the readers and not necessarily of the paper. We welcome letters from our readers and their friends on subjects of current interest. To facilitate the printing of as many letters as possible, and to allow for the freest discussion, please limit letters to 300 words.

Toward Freedom

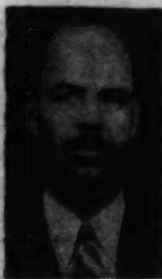
A FORMER professional associate of mine, now a federal employe, sees no hope for the Negro people in the South. Like many Negro and other liberals who make a static approach to the problems of our society, he is completely overwhelmed by the still dominant crust of anti-Negro reaction, and hence useless in promoting progressive social change.

The college professor to whom I refer is profoundly discouraged by what he observed on a recent trip to Birmingham. Negro servicemen and civilians were being beaten and shot with impunity by the police. Federal war agencies had made their peace with the prevailing pattern of racial discrimination. Much-needed Negro war workers were being barred from essential employment.

The masses of white workers, even many in the CIO, were thoroughly saturated with the race hatred of the culture in which they live. The white supremacists were organizing and were more aggressive than ever, vowing that never, no never, should Alabama Negroes vote or enjoy any other measure of "social equality."

"I tell you," said my friend, "there simply is no possible way to reconstruct the South from within. Why, it'll take a fascist revolution to bring about any important change."

When I asked whether he thought a fascist revolution would help free the Negro, he replied, "No, of course, it won't. But a change will have to come from some force from the



Static Approach to a Changing World Means Impotence and Defeat

By Doxey Wilkerson

outside; there is no way to bring it about from within."

I protested: "But look, my friend, you're in the depths of defeatism; you appear to see no way out." To which he retorted: "No, I don't." And he walked away—angry, hopeless, impotent.

My friend makes a basic error which is characteristic of many disillusioned liberals. He views the existing state of affairs as something that is, rather than as something which is in process of becoming. What he fails to see is really the most important thing in the picture; namely, that the social pattern of the South is not fixed and static, but is in process of flux. It is changing, changing ever more rapidly, before his very eyes.

FORMER plantation peasants are moving to the cities, throwing off the veil of ignorance which semi-serfdom imposes, and gaining a new perspective of their relations to the world.

Former agricultural workers are entering into the vast new industries which the war has brought forth. A southern proletariat is emerging, organizing and launching out on programs of political action. (Reps. Starnes and Dies, no less than Senators Pepper and Hill, have but recently experienced the effects upon their political careers.)

In the trade union movement, especially in the great industrial unions of the CIO, entirely new and progressive patterns of relationship are being forged between black workers and white. This is particularly true in Birmingham, where my friend saw noth-

ing but reaction.

More than during any period in recent decades, the Negro people of the South are refusing to accept the caste patterns of tradition. Moved by the liberating impact of this people's war, they are fighting back—still not enough, but ever more and more; and they are winning victories. For example, the near victorious candidacy of a young Negro attorney for a seat on the Newport News, City Council so startled Virginia officialdom that they arranged, for the first time in recent history, for several Negro delegates to attend the state Democratic convention.

STILL further, new allies of the Negro people come forward, even in the South, to champion the extension of Negro freedom as an essential means of strengthening our embattled nation.

The rule of southern Bourbon reaction is now being challenged as never before since the Civil War. It is their very weakness and fears not their strength and confidence, that give rise to the blatant white supremacy cries with which they now seek to pollute the clearing political atmosphere.

It matters a great deal whether one fixes his gaze upon the still dominant, but already disintegrating, forces of reaction, or upon the new and emerging forces of progress which are definitely on the way to becoming dominant. The one leads to defeatism and despair; the other to confidence and effective struggle.

There is much to warrant confidence in the emergence of a new South today. Never since Reconstruction has there been so strong a progressive trend toward freedom. Never has there been a world setting more favorable for nurturing this trend into dominance.

New 'Liberal Party'

By MAX GORDON

OSTENSIBLY seeking the same goals, the Communist Party and the Social Democrats embarked on diametrically opposite courses Saturday. The one dissolved as a party, while the other launched a new "national" party.

The platform and Declaration of Principles of the Social Democratic-inspired "Liberal Party" gives as its objective the establishment of a regime in America that would ensure lasting peace and economic security. It says that only a new liberal party can achieve this.

The Communist Party says that lasting peace and economic security can be won only on the basis of national unity, and that national unity today can operate only through the established two-party system.



According to the "Liberal" party, both major parties are dominated by reaction and are, therefore, incapable of carrying through a postwar program that will assure for America and the world economic stability. Without that stability, it says, America and the world face disaster.

Thus we are confronted with the alternative of world disaster or the immediate emergence of the "Liberal" party as the dominant party in America.

The second alternative is obviously ridiculous. Even in the great progressive state of New York, the American Labor Party, under the leadership of the same people who are now heading the new party, has remained a relatively small minority party in its eight years of existence.

POLICY OF SURRENDER

The logic of the "Liberal" party position is, then, one of surrender and defeat in the face of the "reaction" of both major parties.

The Communists argue that the bulk of the American people, not only the "Liberals," want a postwar world of peace, security and

democracy. This includes the bulk of the people who belong to, and vote for, both major parties and who are certainly not ready to desert them.

Therefore it is necessary and possible for the forces of progress, represented by those who support the perspectives laid down at Teheran, to win leadership in one or both major parties. The fact is that the Democratic Party today is led, nationally by these forces.

History, of course, is proving the Communists right. Even the New York Post, leading agitator for the Social Democratic group that organized the "Liberal" party, was compelled to note editorially the "liberal" trend in the Democratic primaries and to advance the possibility that it may become the "liberal" party in the nation.

THE SIGNS INCREASE

The process of eliminating the reactionary, defeatist elements in the Democratic Party is proceeding at an amazing pace. And the Wayne Morse victory over Sen. Rufus Holman in Oregon demonstrates that it is beginning to develop in GOP ranks, as well.

Either It Takes Over Nationally, or Else—

The sections of the population upon whom leadership in the struggle for a secure postwar world rests—the CIO Political Action Committee, the advanced unions of the AFL like the Teamsters, the Machinists and the culinary workers; the so-called "New Dealers" within the Democratic Party—are opposed to national third parties and are operating within the two major parties.

The Social Democrats who organized the "Liberal" party are not naive people. They know that you can't unseat a Martin Dies or a "Cotton Ed" Smith or a Rufus Holman with a "Liberal" party. They are fully aware that whatever little liberal or labor strength a third party might gain would mean a weakening of the liberal and progressive forces within the two major parties. In most states such a party cannot even legally support the President or any other "liberals" on major party tickets.

One suspects, then, that the organizers of this "Liberal" party have motives other than those they profess. I'll get to that later.

5 Big Steps on the Road Home --- French Gov't Acts

By FLORIMOND BONTE

ALGIERS, May 21.—The National Committee of Liberation — henceforth to be known as the Provisional Government of the French Republic—has just finished a week of activity which augurs well for the partisan armies inside France.

Five outstanding decisions have been taken:

1. A decree incorporating the Francs-Tireurs and Partisans in the French army.

2. The request by the Consultative Assembly that aid to the patriots in France shall be regarded as the main military and political task.

3. The declaration by the Commissioner of Interior supporting a national insurrection and opposing passivity.

4. The Consultative Assembly accepted the principle of unity between the Army and the people.

5. Communist Aviation Minister Fernand Grenier's proposal for labor-management committees in airplane plants was adopted by government decree.

COMMUNIST PROPOSALS

The Communist Party, while hailing these steps, makes certain recommendations to assure their realization as quickly as possible. The government should be reorganized on a true basis of national unity, mirroring the relationship of forces inside France. It should include new, young, dynamic forces like the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), the National Front and its military arm, the Francs-Tireurs and Partisans still ignored at Algiers, and the fighters of the Unified Youth forces—our hope for tomorrow, our country's future.

The decree incorporating the "maquis" in the regular army means that the Francs-Tireurs and Partisans and the armed patriots are accepted as a regular army operating at the rear of the occupation forces. It shall receive its orders directly from the French general staff and its members shall be treated in all respects as regular soldiers of the French Army.

French patriots have long been demanding such a decree. The Francs-Tireurs and Partisans, tried, powerful and organized force, wrote in March to the French government as follows:

"We declare ourselves ready to carry out all combat orders, all tasks the French command may assign us as part of its strategy against the invaders. We hope to become assimilated, as soon as circumstances permit, directly in the new French army."

They added that "the soldiers on the home front should no longer fight as lost children." In this regard, home front fighters will be greatly stimulated by the public recognition by the French military command that they are French soldiers.

This recognition is a solemn warning to the enemy against whom we are fighting in France, and an impetus to the ardent battle fervor of millions of Frenchmen, to whom redoubled material assistance must be forthcoming.

The enemy has openly gone to war once more on French soil, and those he faces—soldiers of resistance and labor draft evaders who require only arms to become soldiers—now have a profound understanding that they are regular soldiers of the renaissance French army.

COMMUNIST DEMAND

The Commissioner of War promulgated the decree after the Provisional Consultative Assembly echoed the Communists' demand that the pressing appeal of the "maquis" be honored.

There is no doubt that this decision will galvanize the fighting spirit of French patriots and permit the most effective coordination of the French Army in Africa with the "army without uniform" in full battle on homeland soil.

On the eve of the opening of a real second front and the beginning of military operations which we

trust will be on a grand scale and carried out until decisive victory, this government decree makes possible the organization of effective aid to the Allied armies.

The Consultative Assembly invitation to the government to "place and maintain on the first order of business the organization of effective and continuously increasing aid to the patriots engaged in battle—all other military and political problems to be subordinated to this"—is its first reply to the flaming appeal it received in February from the National Resistance Council which coordinated patriotic activities inside France.

NATURAL SOVEREIGNTY

This statement is a hundred times more valuable than interminable debates on the future status of France, relegating our people's national sovereignty to "secondary consideration."

Strong Communist demands caused the Commissioner of Interior to come out categorically against passivity and for a national insurrection as the means of national liberation.

The Communists also demanded recognition of the unity of army and people. This is now officially the Assembly's program for raising morale and strengthening our military forces' fighting ability.

By the creation of labor-management committees in airplane factories as proposed by Fernand Grenier, workers, technicians, engineers and patriots will be able to develop their creative initiative for war production and thus check the rank sabotage existing in many of our North African factories.

As our great Communist newspaper, L'Humanite wrote in its 268th underground issue: "The destiny of France is in our hands. Waiting, passivity, sidestepping the necessary struggles are now crimes against the country. The hour has come for the unity of all Frenchmen to fight the daily battle at its best, thus preparing the national insurrection which will render our national liberation the achievement of the people itself."

Chilean Alliance Asks Free Ecuador Election, Hits Ban

MONTEVIDEO, May 21.—A plea that the Emergency Committee for Political Defense, a consultative body which represents all American nations except Argentina, intervene to insure free and democratic elections in Ecuador, set for early June, has been sent to committee president Dr. Alberto Guani by the Democratic Alliance of Chile and signed by hundreds of Chilean leaders.

The Chilean Democratic Alliance, composed of the Radical, Socialist, Communist and Workers Socialist parties, is the group which put President Juan Antonio Rios into power.

Pointing out that "there is in force in Ecuador a law of all-embracing powers under which the president is the only power and his will the only principle of the nation" and that "the elections will be held under the force of this law under which labor unions, students and anti-fascist organizations have been persecuted," the plea continues:

"The latest news from Ecuador has alarmed the American conscience. It reveals that measures have been adopted against the great anti-fascist national unity movement, whose sole purpose is that of the people of Ecuador."

Spanish Sailors Bare Aid to Nazis

MONTEVIDEO, May 21 (ALN).—Confirmation of reports that Franco Spain continues to send to Germany large quantities of war materials purchased in South America was given to this correspondent by crew members of the Spanish ships Arriz and Monte Gorbea, who jumped ship early this week.

The seamen declared: "Chilean nitrate, arriving from Montevideo, is loaded in the Uribarte dockyard in the port of Bilbao on German trucks, which are escorted by Spanish and German police. The trucks reach France within three hours and the nitrates are then transported to German factories by train."

Nitrates and other American raw materials such as Brazilian and Peruvian cotton are transported by a special fleet of eight merchantmen of about 1,000 tons each, which ply the waters between the Spain port of Bilbao and the French ports of Bayonne and Bordeaux. Much South American cotton is also unloaded in the port of Barcelona and shipped to Germany from there.

"The contraband shipments to Nazi Germany were first discovered by chance by the Barcelona branch of the National Bank of Spain, when Barcelona industrialists, Spain's principal consumers of cotton, began to deposit huge quantities of 1,000 peseta notes."

"The industrialists said the notes were received from a German purchasing commission for the delivery of cotton, which the Spanish Minister of Industry had ordered them to sell to the Germans. The notes are even printed in Germany."

Stalin May Day Talk In 5 Million Copies

MOSCOW, May 21 (ICN).—Marshal Stalin's May Day Order is being published in a separate pamphlet in five million copies, and is also being published in the languages of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

"This movement has been started under the leadership of the great anti-fascist leader and defender of a united America, Dr. Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra, the sole candidate of all the democratic political parties of Ecuador in the forthcoming elections."

WHAT'S ON

RATES: What's On sections for the Daily and The Worker are 35c per line (5 words to a line—3 lines minimum).
DEADLINE: Daily at 12 Noon. For Sunday, Wednesday at 4 P.M.

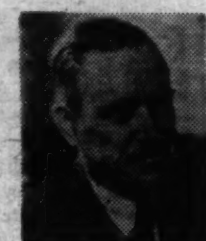
Coming

FILM SHOWING of Abe Lincoln in Illinois, part 4 in Development of the American Nation Film Series. A. B. Magill, editorial board of New Masses, will act as commentator. David Platt, chairman. Wednesday, May 24, at 8:30 p.m., at Tom Mooney Hall, 13 Astor Pl. Admission for series of five, \$3, including tax. Single admission 75c, including tax. Philadelphia, Pa.

NEW MASSES ROUND TABLE discussion on winning the war and the peace. Participants, John Stuart, foreign editor, New Masses; Rev. A. C. Baldwin, D.D., Chestnut St. Baptist Church; Robert Heckert, radio news commentator; G. J. Huber, rep. for Committee for Economic Development; Jessica Rhine, U.E. rep. to WLB; E. W. Rhodes, publisher Phila. Tribune; chairman, H. Collins, executive secretary, School of Social Science. Date, Sunday, May 28, 8:15 p.m. New Century Club, 124 E. 12 St. Subscription 57c.



Death Dance Over Truk: A Japanese torpedo bomber, smoke spirally high over the Pacific, swoops down (top) after a fancy aerial maneuver to launch a torpedo against one of our aircraft carriers near Truk late in April. But the carrier let go with a barrage and the Japanese plane plunged to its doom (bottom) in a crackling scene of foaming water and flames before it could launch its deadly cargo.



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Servicemen's Aid

By World War II Vet

Among the most ardent workers for victory are the disabled veterans of the patriotic war, reports the Information bulletin of the Soviet Embassy.

"Their hatred of the fascists, whom they have known in action, is so profound that they work with even greater energy than before their disability," comments the bulletin.

Without ranking to stand in their way of retraining and re-education, Soviet veterans are getting the best their country can offer. The bulletin explains:

"Many of course are no longer able to continue at their old trades and must be trained in new skills. Through Soviet social maintenance agencies, 90 per cent of the partially disabled vets have been placed in new jobs and despite physical handicaps show a high productivity of labor. Thousands of veterans are doing administrative work. In the Voronezh Region, 600 hold posts as chairmen of collective farms or village Soviets.

"Special laws have been passed to make their working conditions easier, and great attention is paid to improving their material well-being. The Council of People's Commissars has made the directors of social maintenance organizations personally responsible for providing disabled veterans with proper work. Preference must be given them in factories and offices. The wages and pensions of the majority of the veterans exceed pre-war earnings."

The Army is dropping the label "psychoneurotic" from the records of selectees rejected for nervous and mental reasons. It found the "PN" tag a handicap in veterans getting jobs. Rejections for mental reasons continue but the reasons now given is "not suited for military service." The manpower of rejectees and discharged is 4,000,000 to date. Of these 3,800,000 are 4-F and 500,000 discharged. Of the 4-F's, 1,300,000 were mental and nervous—the old psychoneurotic label. Of the discharged, 40 percent were for mental and nervous reasons.

Claims of disabled veterans of World War II are being adjudicated in 48 hours, says the Veterans Administration. . . . At Camp Lee the Army Service Forces have developed a shower setup on wheels, compact enough to be carried by plane and powerful enough to pump and heat water for 500 men an hour. It can be used wherever there is a suitable supply of water, and one unit is operating within five miles behind the line in Italy. A similar gadget was used by the Americans in Spain.

Question: My brother is a petty officer, second class. He has just received his new rating. Is his wife entitled to free medical and hospital care as she is expecting a baby soon?

T. T.

Answer: If your sister-in-law applied for free care before her husband was promoted, she is entitled to medical and hospital care. If she did not apply, it is too late for her to do so now since care is limited to wives of servicemen who are in lower pay grades at the time the application is filed. The Navy Relief Society, 90 Church St., New York City, offers information concerning maternity benefits for wives of petty officers, second class.

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Real Culprit in Wright Case, Daily News, Was Never Tried

Frederick Helzer Wright, Daily News copy editor, was acquitted recently on charges preferred by the Federal government that he allegedly acted as a Japanese agent without registering with the State Department, and also that he allegedly conspired with the Japanese consular authorities before Pearl Harbor to keep the fact a secret from the Daily News.

Under the democratic laws of the nation, and the protective law against double jeopardy, Wright has been tried and found "not guilty" by a jury. Therefore Wright, as an individual, as the man who stood trial, is out of the picture.

But Wright's employers, the publisher and editors of the defeatist Daily News, are still on trial before the public. And while the former defendant Frederick Helzer Wright was acquitted, the people will never acquit this newspaper with the greatest circulation in the nation. Right up to Pearl Harbor the Daily News spouted a pro-Japanese line and attempted to lull the public into

complacency at the moment Tokio was warming up its war planes to attack us in the Pacific.

THE REAL ISSUE

The government did not convict Wright, because it failed to prove its serious charges against him.

In carefully separating the defendant from his employers, the government attorneys made their greatest mistake. Wright was a small cog in a big appeasement machine. Wright freely admitted on the witness stand that he wrote a series of "pro-Japanese" articles which appeared in the Daily News during the period the government alleged that he worked as a paid agent for the Japanese government. The Daily News, up to the moment of Pearl Harbor, was blatantly pro-Japanese.

"COMMUNITY OF INTEREST"

Lawrence Dennis, the "intellectual leader" of American fascists, declared in the courtroom that he and the other accused secessionists had a "community of interests" with Hitler in their activities in this country.

The Daily News, because of its vicious anti-Roosevelt stand, had a "community of interests" with Hitler and Wright.

As an example of that "community of interests," Wright, on the stand, did not deny the government's charge that only seven days before Pearl Harbor, on Nov. 30, 1941, he had "spiked" a cable from London warning that the Japanese fleet was steaming in full battle array in the Pacific, and that there would be "war within 48 hours." The very next day (after Wright suppressed the cable) the Daily News blossomed forth with an editorial, aimed at dulling the public mind against the possibility of war with Japan. The editorial stated:

"Whispers and dope stories coming out of Washington and Tokio have it that an agreement for a cooling off period between the United States and Japan is on the way; that war between the two nations is not as imminent as it looks on the surface. . . ."

The following day, when inner

circles in Washington were alarmed at the bad turn in the Kurusu-Hull "peace" negotiations, the Daily News said (on Dec. 2): "And how about Congress doing its constitutional duty in this Japanese crisis for a change. . . . Does Congress have to sit by and silently watch the President get us into a war with Japan, too?"

Then, only three days before the Japanese attacked at Pearl Harbor, the Daily News screamed: ". . . the Roosevelt Administration goes on shouting for war and against peace. . . ."

It becomes apparent now that the real culprit in the Wright case was never brought to trial.

CIO Greet Gov't Act On Italian Aid Group

The National CIO War Relief Committee yesterday commended the President's War Relief Control Board for certifying the American Relief for Italy Committee (ARIC), for membership in the National War Fund, according to Irving Abramson, chairman, and Leo Perlis, national director of the committee.

At the same time, he added, his organization is vigorously opposed to the attempt of Generoso Pope to secure a place of importance in the Italian relief group.



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Personal but not PRIVATE

Dave Says Yanks Will Win, Even Though They Look Dumb

By Dave Farrell

Here are some more reflections of an old codger looking at carbon copy baseball as played in the big leagues:

A tip to The Lip. If Basinski doesn't pan out why not try Branch Rickey at second base? After all you've used everybody on the payroll except the Mahatma. And he is supposed to be able to get you what you need. We assure you he won't look any funnier than Mickey Owen. By the way did the Mick use his mask at the keystone?

Went to the ball game with Pettis Perry, L. A. County Chairman. Old Pete was a plenty good catcher in his day and is the only man we know with as good a memory as ours. Between us we had Nat Low. Both Bro. Perry and Your Obedient Scribe agreed that major league ball is way off the gold standard. The Yankees didn't look nearly as bad as they seemed stupid. Which is a new criticism for that club. . . . But they still can clout a long ball.

We look for the Yankees to repeat, not because they have the hitting club of yore but because they've got the chugging, even though right now Bonham hasn't rounded into shape. Page has pitched nice ball, Emerson Roser has looked pretty well in most relief jobs, and Walter Dubele pitched a brilliant game on Saturday, holding the Browns to four hits. In snagging a 3-2 win the ex-Newark chucker had to bear down (no this is not a pun) all the way because the Yankees gave him nothing to lean on. One of their three runs being balked in and the winning tally coming in the 8th was unearned. . . . It's easy to see just why Stirnweiss could not cut the mustard as a shortstop last year. He can't make the throw. But at second he fills in very nicely. As a result the Yankees have just about the tightest infield in baseball with 35 double plays in the first 20 games.

Cholly, Page Mr. Gibson

If the Cubs are ever to start winning they'd better get themselves a catcher that can hit. Billy Holm is a good friend of ours and a nice kind father to his pretty little daughter, but he certainly is no threat at the plate. We know a receiver who would look good in a Cub uniform, a guy named Josh Gibson. He certainly would drive plenty of balls out of Wrigley Field and thereby pull in the cash customers. But we're afraid that with the Strike Breaker as business manager (James T. Gallagher in the Chicago American affair) t'ain't very likely. As Gertrude Stein once put it, "A stinker is a stinker."

We notice that Schoolboy Rowe playing outfield for Great Lakes Naval Training Station beat his old mates, the Phils with a two run round tripper in the seventh. Which brings up the old question what becomes of used pitchers. Well, it seems is they can hit they can always play the outfield. Here are a few names who are reconstructed chucks: Johnny Lindell, Stan Musial who started as a pitcher, Ed Carnett of the White Sox was a mighty sweet portside when he was with the Angels, the fabulous Lefty O'Doul started as a scatter-armed chucker with the Yanks before he went on to become one of the great hitters in the NL, Max Magon, though now a first sacker does an occasional short hitch in the outfield.

And then of course there was a guy named Baberham Ruth, who done pretty good with the willow after quite a career as a hurler. . . . Jim Tobin has stated that he expects to become a gardener when his control leaves him. . . . And if Rufus the Ruffing can even totter when the war is over, he'll be out there playing regularly. That is if the Yankees don't get him a club to manage.

The Adventures OF Richard

In Which the Pops Learn—the Hard Way

By MIKE SINGER

Not all absenteeism at war plants or essential services is due to normal causes. Sometimes it results from a stickball game. If labor-management committees would ban employees from playing with kids, there's be a sharp drop in absenteeism. Here's kids helped the enemy, as it turned out.

On the first bounce pitch by No-Nose, Mr. Geezleman, a government worker swung. Around—and around—and around he went until he looked like a Flatbush edition of the Ballet Russe. On the second pitch No-Nose tossed his tricky reverse bounce. Geezleman leaned over, swung and hit himself on the head with the sawed-off broom handle, almost knocking his brains out. Today he wears his hat way over on the back of his head because of the bump.

Then there is Flekel Sr., a Navy Yard worker. Flekel Sr. managed to slam two long, hard fouls, one of which almost decapitated Mr. Belsofsky, watching in safety from his second floor window. Mr. Belsofsky, an engineer in a war plant, is back at work now after two days of X-rays to locate the buzz in his head. No-Nose called a huddle after Flekel Sr.'s second foul. What No-Nose, Richard Menasher and Flekel, Jr. figured out in that huddle must be recorded with some of the worst juvenile delinquency problems facing the nation. Unwittingly, those

For No-Nose threw his dreaded Sitting Bull pitch. This ball bounces gently about waist-high. It is a nice, slow, sweet, cute ball and the batter laughs as it comes to him, such a beautiful pitch, to smash over into Greenpoint. Then the ball STOPS. It suspends itself a good three or four feet from the batter on the very first bounce. It doesn't move. It just sits in the air.

Flekel Sr. saw the ball. He measured the bounce. He swung with all his strength. For a minute he looked like a Flying Fortress propeller at high speed. Then he started yelling, "My shoulder," he screamed, "where's my shoulder? Who's got my arm? Somebody put my leg back in place. Ooooooh, who shot me in the back. Owww, give me ether, the pain's killing me." We carried him into the house and it was a whole day before the doctor unwound him and straightened the kinks out. A day that he should have been riveting in the Navy Yard.

The Moral: broom handles should stay on brooms.

Dodgers, Giants Drop Opener

The Dodgers and Giants were still in their losing ways yesterday in the opening games of their twin bills with the Cincinnati Reds and the St. Louis Cardinals.

The Reds took the Dodgers by a score of 5-3 while the Cardinals pounded three Giant pitchers to cop, 10-3.

Thus the two teams remained locked in their tie for seventh place with 12 wins as against 16 defeats. The Giants lost Saturday night also, Max Lanier shutting them out 10-0. Rookie Ed McLish hurled for the Durocher men in yesterday's opener, and gave up five runs before giving way to Fred Ostermuller in the sixth inning. Tommy Warren pitched the eighth inning. Meanwhile, Ed Heusser of the Reds was turning in a lovely eight hitter, allowing one run in the first inning and two more in the eighth.

The Cards made it 20 runs in two games off the Giants, with Rube Fischer, Crip Polli and Seward doing the hurling. The Cards scored 1 in the second, 2 in the third, 1 in the fourth, 2 in the fifth and 4 in the sixth. Then they loafed for the rest of the day. The Giants went off to a three run lead in the opening frame and when Harry Brecheen was yanked, Howie Schmidt took over and that was all.

The Cards made twelve hits while the Giants put together eight.

Landis Calls Meeting To Plan All-Star Game

PITTSBURGH, May 21.—K. M. Landis, commissioner of baseball, has called a meeting here tomorrow with other baseball officials to discuss plans for the All-Star game July 11 at Forbes Field.

He asked Ford Frick, National League president, and Will Harbridge, American League president, to meet with himself and W. E. Benswanger and S. E. Watters, of the Pittsburgh Pirates.

Biggest Ovation Since Mussolini Fell Muncrief Pitches Heart Out, But Yanks Win

War year or no war year, you'll seldom see a more dramatic baseball game than the Yanks and the Browns played in the first half of their twin bill yesterday at the Stadium before the season's biggest crowd of more than 50,000 fans.

The Yanks won it 4-3 but they had to go 12 innings with Hank Borowy to do it and had to witness the biggest ovation heard in the Yankee Stadium since the loudspeakers announced the fall of Mussolini a year ago—go to a member of the opposing team.

That gent was Bob Muncrief, the Brownie pitcher, who hurled his heart out in an attempt to gain his first major league victory over the Yanks only to be lifted in the bottom half of the twelfth inning with two out, the bases loaded and the score tied at 3-3.

His successor, George Castor, pitched three straight balls to Johnny Lindell, the batter, before getting over strike. Then came another ball and Ed Levy stroled over the plate with the winning run.

Muncrief's effort was one of the best the Stadium has seen in some time. From the fifth inning to the twelfth, only one Yank got a base hit, Bud Metheny who singled to right in the tenth. Otherwise, Muncrief was nigh invincible and the Yanks were looking silly trying to hit the stuff.

They had gone off to a two run lead in the first inning, when Metheny hit his fourth homer of the year into right field, Etter singled and came across on Don Savage's double to left. But after that the Yanks were stopped dead than Hitler at Stalingrad.

The Browns made the score 2-1 in the second when Mark Christman walked and Frank Mancuso was safe on Milosevich's first error of the season. Then Muncrief singled

and Christman came in. The Browns knotted the score in the eighth inning when they touched Borowy for a walk to Stephens, a single to Byrnes and a long fly to Christman.

That's the way it remained until the 12th inning when the Browns seemingly clinched the game. Don Gutteridge was safe on a bad throw by Savage. Al Zorilla singled to center, putting Gutteridge on third from where he scored Gene Moore's single to left.

But then came the dramatics. Remember, only one Yank had gotten a hit since the fifth inning.

Borowy went out easily to start with. Then Snuffy Stirnweiss hit a grounder that just rolled off Vern Stephens' glove at short and he was safe. Muncrief attempted to hold the Yank speedster on first but after four futile attempts, Stirnweiss stole second. Bud Metheny increased the tension by going out without a struggle, so now there were two out. But Ed Levy swung awkwardly at an outside pitched and hit the ball into right field. It went for a double and scored Stirnweiss with the tying run. Nick Etten was purposely passed and then Savage beat out an infield scratch hit to third.

At this point manager Luke Sewell decided to yank Muncrief who just wouldn't leave the mound. Finally Luke took the ball from him and as Muncrief walked off the field the crowd gave him a tremendous ovation the like of which you rarely ever see in a ball park. Then came the walk to Lindell and the ball game was over.

RADIO

11 A.M. TO NOON

- 11:00-WEAF—Road of Life
- WOR—News—To Harper
- WJZ—Breakfast With Breneman
- WABC—Honey Moon Hill
- WQXR—Talk: Alma Dettlinger
- 11:15-WEAF—Vic and Sade
- WOR—Jimmy Fidler—Talk
- WABC—Second Husband
- 11:30-WEAF—Brave Tomorrow
- WOR—Quiz Wizard
- WJZ—News: Baby Institute
- WABC—Bright Horizon
- 11:45-WEAF—David Harum
- WOR—What's Your Idea
- WABC—Aunt Jenny's Stories

NOON TO 2 A.M.

- 12:00-WEAF—News: Music
- WJZ—Talk—Dr. Mark A. Dawber
- WABC—News: Kate Smith's Chat
- 12:15-WOR—Jerry Wayne, Songs
- WJZ—Correspondents Abroad
- WABC—Big Sister
- 12:30-WJZ—News: Farm-Home Hour
- 12:30-WEAF—U. S. Navy Band
- WOR—News: Juke Box
- WABC—Helen Trent
- 12:45-WABC—Our Gal Sunday
- 1:00-WEAF—Mary Margaret McBride
- WOR—News: Jack Berch, Songs
- WJZ—H. R. Baukage, News
- WABC—Life Can Be Beautiful
- 1:15-WJZ—Woman's Exchange Show
- WABC—Ma Perkins
- 1:30-WOR—Lopes Orchestra
- WABC—Bernardine Flynn, News
- 1:45-WEAF—Morgan Beatty, News
- WOR—AWVS Convention
- WJZ—Little Jack Little, Songs
- WABC—The Goldbergs

2 A.M. TO 6 P.M.

- 2:00-WEAF—The Guiding Light
- WOR—Talk—Martha Deane
- WJZ—News: Walter Kiernan
- WABC—Portia Faces Life
- 2:15-WEAF—Today's Children
- WJZ—The Mystery Chef
- WABC—Joyce Jordan
- 2:30-WEAF—Light of the World
- WOR—News: Consumer Quiz
- WJZ—Ed East and Polly
- WABC—Young Dr. Malone
- WQXR—Your Request Program
- 2:45-WEAF—Hymns of All Churches
- WABC—Perry Mason
- 3:00-WEAF—A Woman of America
- WOR—The Black Castle
- WJZ—Morton Downey, Songs
- WABC—Mary Martin
- 3:15-WEAF—Ma Perkins
- WOR—Sunny Skylar, Songs
- WJZ—Appointment With Life
- WABC—News—Bob Trout
- 3:30-WEAF—Pepper Young
- WOR—Dr. Eddy's Food Forum
- WABC—Now and Forever
- 3:45-WEAF—Right to Happiness
- WJZ—Ethel and Albert
- WABC—This Life Is Mine
- 4:00-WEAF—Backstage Wife
- WOR—Talk—John Gambling
- WJZ—Blue Frolics, Variety
- WABC—Broadway Matinee
- 4:15-WEAF—Stella Dallas
- 4:25-WABC—News: Recorded Music
- 4:30-WEAF—Lorenzo Jones—Sketch
- WOR—Stanley Orchestra; Annette

Radio Concerts

- 9:15-6:35 P.M., WLIR—Great Classics
- 7:05-8 P.M., WNYC (also FM)—Masterwork Hour presents a Wagnerian Program
- 8-9 P.M., WQXR (also FM)—Symphony Hall
- 8:30-9 P.M., WEAF (also FM)—Richard Crooks, tenor; orchestra conducted by Howard Barlow
- 9-9:30 P.M., WEAF (also FM)—Helen Traubel, soprano, and the Donald Voorhees Orchestra
- 10-10:30 P.M., WEAF (also FM)—Josephine Antoine, soprano; Reinhold Schmidt, bass; Ralph Myland, tenor; chorus and orchestra conducted by Percy Faith
- 10:30-11 P.M., WOR—The Symphonette, Mishael Piatro conducting

9 P.M. TO MIDNIGHT

- 9:00-WEAF—Helen Traubel, Soprano
- WOR—Gariel Heatter, News
- WJZ—Counter-Spy
- WABC—Radio Theatre
- WMCA—News; Recorded Music
- WQXR—World-Wide News
- 9:15-WOR—Return of Nick Carter
- WQXR—Musical Memory Game
- 9:30-WEAF—Information Please
- WOR—Variety Musicale
- WJZ—Spotlight Band
- WMCA—Norman Jay—Talk
- WQXR—Musical Cavalcade
- 9:55-WJZ—Short Story
- 10:00-WEAF—Josephine Antoine, Songs
- WOR—Henry Gladstone, News
- WJZ—Raymond Gram Swing
- WABC—Screen Guild Play
- 10:15-WOR—Paul Schubert, News
- WJZ—Top of the Evening
- 10:30-WEAF—Dr. I. Q. Quiz
- WOR—The Symphonette Music
- WJZ—Academy Award Theatre
- WABC—Broadway Showtime
- WQXR—Great Violinists
- 11:00-WEAF—WOR—News; Music
- WJZ, WABC—News; Music
- 11:30-WEAF—Stories of Escape
- WABC—National Maritime Day Show
- 12:00-WEAF, WMCA—News; Music
- WJZ, WABC—News; Music
- WQXR—News (to 12:05)

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Late Bulletins

Million Proudly Salute Flag At 'I Am an American' Rites

More than a million New Yorkers gratefully pledged allegiance to their flag yesterday joining with Americans throughout the country in observance of I Am An American Day.

The great crowd, thronging the Mall in Central Park, slowly repeated the words, "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States, and to the republic for which it stands. . . ." About 150,000 newly naturalized citizens also took part.

This impressive ceremony followed an afternoon of music, sunshine and gaiety. The cast of Oklahoma drove up in a surrey to sing Oh, What a Beautiful Morning. The casts of Tars and Spars, Winged Victory and Carmen Jones sang familiar and loved songs from their Broadway shows. Everybody was singing right along with them.

The keynote address was given by Sen. Robert F. Wagner who said that this day by common consent, was dedicated to Americanism, that

it was a time to reaffirm faith in America by doing everything possible to defeat fascism. Among America's obligations to the future, he said, are: organizing the world for peace; expansion of social security and the raising of health standards for all; slum clearance and decent housing; equal educational opportunity, regardless of economic ability, and equal opportunity regardless of race, color and creed.

Mayor LaGuardia, a very busy chairman, introduced heroes of the Army, Navy and Merchant Marine to the applauding and proud audience. His rarely occupied chair at the rear of a huge platform was flanked by an impressive row of Americans including Army and Navy officers, Spars, Wacs, the novelist Fannie Hurst, Councilman Stanley Isaacs, New York CIO's Saul Mills, the Rt. Rev. William T. Manning, Helen Jepson and Igor Gorin of the Metropolitan Opera, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Grover Whalen.

YANKS WIN, DODGERS, GIANTS LOSE

AMERICAN LEAGUE

(First Game)

CHICAGO 0 0 0 0 0 3 0 0 0-3 9 1
BOSTON 0 0 0 0 0 4 0 0 x-4 10 1
Dietrich, Maltzberger (6) and Tresk; Hughson and Wagner.

(Second Game)

CHICAGO 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0-2 4 2
BOSTON 3 1 0 0 1 0 2 2 x-9 12 2
Grove, Humphries (7) and Turner, Castino (6); O'Neil, Ryba and Parlee.

(First Game)

DETROIT 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0-2 8 0
WASHINGTON 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0-1 8 1
Trout and Swift; Niggeling and Ferrell.

(Second Game)

DETROIT 4 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 1-7 15 2
WASHINGTON 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0-1 5 1
Newhouser and Richards; Wolff, Candini (1), Wynn (9) and Guerra.

(First Game)

CLEVELAND 0 0 0 2 0 1 0 0 1 0 1-5 12 1
PHILADELPHIA 2 0 0 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0-4 8 1
Reynolds, Klieman (4), Calvert (6), Poat (9) and Rosar; Newson and Hayes.

(Second Game)

CLEVELAND 0 0 0 2 0 0 0 0 0-2 4 1
PHILADELPHIA 0 0 0 0 0 0 2 1 x-3 7 0
Gromek and Rosar; Flores and Hayes.

(First Game)

ST. LOUIS 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1-3 8 4
NEW YORK 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 2-4 10 2
Munier, Caster (12) and Mancuso; Borowy and Hemsley.

(First Game)

ST. LOUIS 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1-3 8 4
NEW YORK 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 2-4 10 2
Munier, Caster (12) and Mancuso; Borowy and Hemsley.

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NEW YORK 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 2-4 10 2
Munier, Caster (12) and Mancuso; Borowy and Hemsley.

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NEW YORK 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 2-4 10 2
Munier, Caster (12) and Mancuso; Borowy and Hemsley.

(First Game)

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NEW YORK 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 2-4 10 2
Munier, Caster (12) and Mancuso; Borowy and Hemsley.

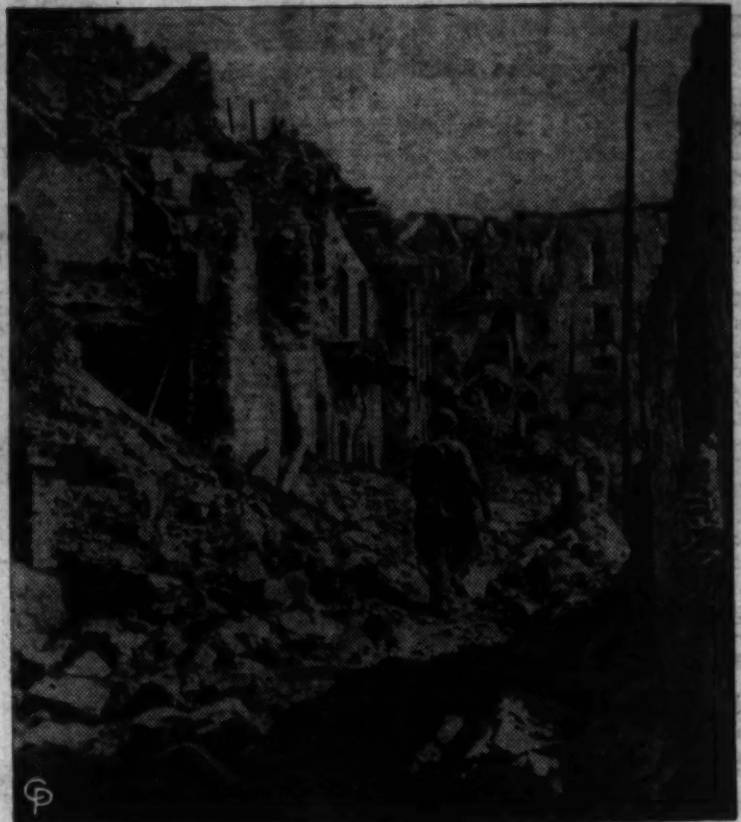
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NEW YORK 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 2-4 10 2
Munier, Caster (12) and Mancuso; Borowy and Hemsley.

(First Game)

ST. LOUIS 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1-3 8 4
NEW YORK 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 2-4 10 2
Munier, Caster (12) and Mancuso; Borowy and Hemsley.

Daily Worker



A lone American soldier of the Fifth Army makes his way through the rubble in Castelforte immediately after the Nazis withdrew. The scene is now a familiar one to our troops as the Allied offensive gains momentum and the Nazis "shorten their lines according to plan."

Folkestone Isn't 'Ealthy Right Now, But Villagers Really Love It

By HENRY T. GORRELL
United Press Staff Correspondent

FOLKESTONE, England, May 21 (UP).—Take a quick look at Folkestone and the other towns on the English side of the channel and you'll agree they're not particularly attractive these days to anyone in search of a rest.

I don't suppose many visitors would willingly stick their noses into the channel area, even if it were not restricted, for towns around here not only have been subjected to intensive bombing in recent years but also have suffered frequent shelling by the German cross-channel artillery.

They say one gets used to anything if he has lived here. Even the sheep on the Kentish farms, who have caught more shrapnel in their woolly coats than most front-line troops ever dodged, seem to take the constant drone of our bombers and fighters in their stride.

OUR BLOCKBUSTERS

But there is one particular noise—a terrifying noise—which no one has become accustomed to yet, no matter how callused he has become.

That is the effect of our own blockbusters exploding in the Calais-Boulogne area across the channel, 21 miles distant.

I came here specifically in search of loud bangs and strange sensations, but judging from the stories I've heard, I'm fortunate that bad weather thus far has restricted the activity of the Allied air forces and prevented me from experiencing the real thing.

The first fellow I talked to here was a

one-legged war veteran who runs one of the few available taxis in this front-line town.

"The worst experience I've ever had," he told me, "was the other night when I awakened to find my bed shaking like a cork in an ocean. I thought it was the end of the world. It was like an earthquake."

EARTH TREMBLED

Other Folkestoners told me that, whereas in the past they seldom even bothered to get out of their beds during the German bombing and shelling, in this case thousands of half-clothed villagers rushed from their homes, fearing they would collapse from the prolonged earth tremors.

William Spackman, Folkestone's sole remaining fish monger said: "As a rule, you can't get me up with a sledge hammer, but this time I was really scared."

"The floor was shaking under my feet, and from the blinding flashes from the other side I could see the plateglass windows in shops bulging in and out. It was a wonder the glass was not broken."

At first I frankly told the villagers I came here to hear the bangs, but I got so many hostile looks that I didn't bring the subject up again.

As an old fisherman put it: "We used to like to entertain strangers, but nowadays, when you folks come here to see the sights we generally catch old 'arry. And when things 'appen 'ere, it ain't exactly no 'ealthy spot to be in."

PINKY RANKIN

Making THEIR WAY ASHORE, THE COMMANDOS DISCOVER DEAD NAZIS STREWN ALL OVER. ADVANCING INTO THE TOWN...



TEXT OF BROWDER'S CONVENTION REPORT On Speeding Victory Over the Axis, The 1944 Elections and Postwar Security

The report delivered by Earl Browder to the Communist constitutional convention on May 20, follows in full:

Teheran

Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, meeting in Teheran last December, shaped and confirmed the common policy of the great alliance leading the United Nations. This common policy is to work together in the war and in the peace that will follow; complete agreement on the scope and timing of military operations from east, west and south, to guarantee victory; to make a peace which will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples, and banish the scourge of war for many generations; to establish a world family of democratic nations.

Hitler's New Year speech laid down the Axis antithesis to Teheran. No longer attempting to deny that the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance holds the power to destroy him and his works, Hitler told the world that the alliance cannot hold together; that his defeat will result in a social and economic catastrophe of unimaginable scope, followed by a new war either between Britain and America or between the two and the Soviet Union.

America and the world must choose between Teheran and Hitler. Only the firm, energetic, unhesitating unfoldment of the Teheran program in action by all parties to it can defeat and cancel the threats and perspectives of Hitler. Every one who casts doubt upon Teheran, or weakens its execution in any way, is working for Hitler, whether he knows it or not.

A Binding Common Interest

I have full confidence that the complete agreement of Teheran will be executed. It is obviously essential to the national interest of each of the contracting great powers. The key question of the opening of the Western Front can no longer be considered by anyone as a question of "helping the Soviet Union." Today it is clearly a supreme necessity to help ourselves.

It is an elementary fact of life that the character of the post-war world will be largely influenced by those who win the war on the battlefield. The question of full coalition warfare has become, for the Soviet Union, a question of shortening the war. For Britain and America it is still a question of winning the war. Therefore the Anglo-Saxon powers have reasons fully as urgent as those of the Soviet Union, for pressing the Teheran program to complete and early fulfillment.

American Opponents Of Teheran

The concord of Teheran does not automatically execute itself. It does not relieve us of our worries and tasks. On the contrary, it demands a maximum of national and individual effort, materially and intellectually, to realize it. Teheran has many



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enemies to overcome in America.

Teheran demands firm unity with our allies. Every one in America who holds some special idea and interest higher than the consideration of such unity, is an enemy of Teheran.

Teheran requires the full unity of all democratic forces within each country. Everyone in America who wants to exclude one or another group or category from such national unity, on any grounds not entirely based on the consideration of winning the war, is an enemy of Teheran.

For every American who places victory and a lasting peace as the highest and all-determining consideration, all his fellow Americans who agree on this are his friends, and his only enemies are those who for whatever reason of prejudice, special interest, defeatism, or simple business-as-usual, allow other considerations to disturb the national and international unity.

The Teheran Concord At Work in Europe

We must fight against and defeat all enemies of Teheran; we must unite all who support Teheran by word and deed.

In the months since the Teheran meeting, we have been witnessing the concord at work in Europe, dissolving one after another the knotty problems which had been threatening the solidity of the alliance. What more precise definition of the concord can we find, then, than that given by its practical results? We may

summarize a few outstanding examples.

In Yugoslavia there was a sharp cleavage of policy within the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance up to Teheran. Britain and America were supporting King Peter's government-in-exile, which included as its Minister of War the figure of General Mikhailovitch, who plays an ambiguous role within Yugoslavia itself heavily entangled in collaboration with the Nazis; the Soviet Union supported Marshal Tito and the Government of National Liberation that arose in battle against the Nazis on the soil of that country. Since Teheran, this sharp cleavage has been softened and largely bridged, with the three great powers jointly giving military support to Marshal Tito, with a sharp warning having been given to the Mikhailovitch forces to cut off their relations with the enemy, and heavy pressure being exerted on the government-in-exile to purge itself of dubious and treacherous elements as the price of any consideration in the postwar world. There is little doubt now that the government-in-exile must either drastically reconcile itself to the new regime within Yugoslavia or soon pass from the stage of history.

In Italy, under Anglo-American occupation, the sharp cleavage between the Badoglio-Savoy regime backed by Britain with the acquiescence of America, and the six-party democratic coalition in the National Liberation Committee which had the sym-

pathy of the Soviet Union and most advanced democratic forces elsewhere, threatened to degenerate into a stubborn deadlock, and was poisoning the relations between the great powers themselves. But a bold initiative in the spirit of Teheran succeeded, in a few weeks time, in bringing into existence a government which is substantially one of the democratic coalition, while it preserves the formal claims of the "legitimacy" for post-war consideration by the Italian people themselves. The new situation thus created has obviously been pleasing to all concerned, except the trouble-makers who had speculated on creating a division among the great powers. It has strengthened the war, the Italian people and the three-power alliance in all respects.

In Poland, center of very stubborn controversies, the spirit of Teheran is also effectively at work. So much so that very little of the old controversy remains to disturb the relations of the three great powers, but the remaining difficulties are chiefly those between the Big Three and the die-hard reactionaries still holding on to control of the government-in-exile. There is a general belief that the recent visit to the Soviet Union of two prominent Polish Americans, Professor Oscar Lange and Father Orleanski, signifies among other things the opening of a final opportunity for the government-in-exile to purge itself of its anti-Soviet personnel and policies, and merge into the new Polish government which will undoubtedly arise as Polish territory is liberated by the victorious advance of the Red Army.

Teheran removed the last obstacles that had delayed the formal signing of an agreement between the Czechoslovak government-in-exile and the Soviet Union for the installation of civil government in that country in the wake of the advancing Red Army. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile had long been a pioneer of the Teheran spirit, it was the first to base itself upon the broadest possible democratic coalition extending from Catholics to Communists, it has long fully understood that its destiny was bound up with the closest friendship with the Soviet Union. Its agreement with the Soviet Union, now completed with the full approbation of London and Washington, is a model of what would be most desirable for all European countries in the coming liberation.

We must express our agreement with Lucien Midol, member of the French Assembly in Algiers recently in this country, that a definite agreement with the Committee headed by DeGaulle is in order on the part of Washington and London, on the model of the Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement. The consolidation of patriotic Frenchmen around the Committee, inside and outside of France, has progressed so far as definitely to require this step. Such recognition will further the unification and democratization of the Fighting French organization everywhere, and will greatly strengthen

the Allied forces going into France.

The policy of Teheran thus sharply defined in actual political events, may be generalized as a process of giving to Europe a unified Anglo-Soviet-American leadership to dissolve the old contradictory orientations toward one or the other of the three great powers. It is a policy of releasing the democratic peoples' revolution, the sweeping away of absolutism and feudal remnants, the mobilization of the united peoples' forces for their own liberation. It includes the postponement of final decisions on the economic and political system for each country until after liberation, when each will be free to determine its own destiny without any outside intervention whatever. It requires support to groupings and leaders within each country entirely upon the basis of their effective contribution to the war against the common enemy, and not at all upon ideological considerations or any desire to predetermine that country's post-war destiny.

For the full effectiveness of this policy within each country, a broad coalition of all democratic forces is required, within which the recourse to armed struggle to settle disputes is abolished, and all relations are determined through free discussion, free political association and universal suffrage. Such a democratic national coalition within each country must include all who will fight the Nazis and submit to a common discipline, under the general world leadership of the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance, without any discrimination on the basis of conflicting ideologies or past prejudices.

Such is the policy of Teheran, the only road to quick and complete victory and a lasting and prosperous peace.

The Cairo Conference And Teheran

The Cairo Conference of Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek set forth the minimum program of expulsion of Japan from all territories she has seized, return to China of those parts formerly hers, and independence for Korea. "With these objects in view, the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan."

Background to this agreement is the cancellation of the unequal treaties with China, with renunciation of all extra-territorial rights, and the U. S. policy of independence for the Philippine Islands.

Unanswered are the questions of the future status of India, Burma, Indonesia, the Malay States, and Indo-China, with populations well over five hundred millions. Also unanswered is the problem of Chinese unity against the common enemy.

For the quickest and least costly victory over Japan, we need the extension of the principles of Teheran to the Pacific. There are two great obstacles to this aim still to be overcome. First is the re-

assistance in the Kuomintang regime to unity with the Chinese Communists; second, is the continuing lack of agreement between Britain and the United States on long-term policy toward problems of world trade, which is a difficulty that extends not only to Asia, but to Europe, Africa, Latin America, and the whole world.

The New York Times of May 14, editorially taking note of the new Japanese offensive under the title "China in Distress," after years of urging Chungking not to make any concessions to the Chinese Communists, at last recognizes that "the greatest aid which China can furnish to herself is to compose the differences between Chungking and the Communists." The Times sees finally the disaster threatening China and the United States because, in the area of greatest Japanese threat, the Eighth Route Army and the ten divisions of Chungking's best troops "have been facing one another in an armed truce and have thus neutralized one another." The Times does not recognize its own errors in having, for years, thrown its influence against any settlement between the Kuomintang and Communists in China, and even in the present desperate moment it carefully limits its suggestion for unity "until the war is over," when presumably it will again insist that the Chinese Communists must be exterminated. Thus does the fatal policy of "too little and too late" continue to express itself among some of the most influential circles in America and China.

In October 1942 Mr. Sumner Welles, then Under Secretary of State, gave me a statement on American policy toward China which urged that unity should be achieved by conciliation. Doubtless, as I then recognized, this was a correct statement of American desires. But now it must be said openly that very little indeed has been done by our country to secure the application of that policy. And if nothing is done about it, declarations of policy have very little effect upon the development of events. The Times editorials of 1941 and 1942 urging the suppression of the Communists had more influence in Chungking than did Mr. Welles' statement, which was suppressed by the Chungking censorship. Now, at the eleventh hour, with the Japanese advance seriously threatening Chungking itself, the time is more than ripe for the United States to insist that the Chungking government shall put its house in order with a real, not a formal, unification of all Chinese fighting forces, and their fullest utilization against the common enemy. We must once and for all put an end to playing with the "red scare" which in China, as everywhere, works for the enemy and against the United Nations.

In the rest of Asia, outside of China and the Philippines, we have done nothing to mobilize the hundreds of millions of the population to fight on our side. It is clearly in the interest of America that this be done, with an unequivocal promise to all the great Asiatic peoples of their independence as a result of victory over the Japanese. We cannot, however, secure British agreement to such a policy, unless their fears of American post-war trade competition can be allayed. The British-American trade rivalry is today the greatest obstacle to establishing the grand strategy for victory over Japan in the Pacific.

How Can We Dissolve Anglo-U. S. Antagonism?

The main reason why the British cling so stubbornly to their obsolete colonial system is not to be found in the supposed innate conservatism or incapacity for change in the British character. Rather it must be seen in the fact that the British can see available no other instrument to avoid being overwhelmed by the gigantic forces of American capitalism. In a world of free mar-

kets as between nations, and bereft of their colonial monopoly, British capitalists cannot envisage successful competition with their American rivals. This is an old fear of the British, but it has been multiplied a hundredfold by the spectacular expansion of the American productive plant during the war. Unless this well-founded fear of British capital can in some way be allayed there is not the slightest prospect to dissolve the Anglo-American rivalry that is impeding the war effort, that blocks a common strategy in Asia, that prevents the formulation of any concrete long-time policy common to both countries.

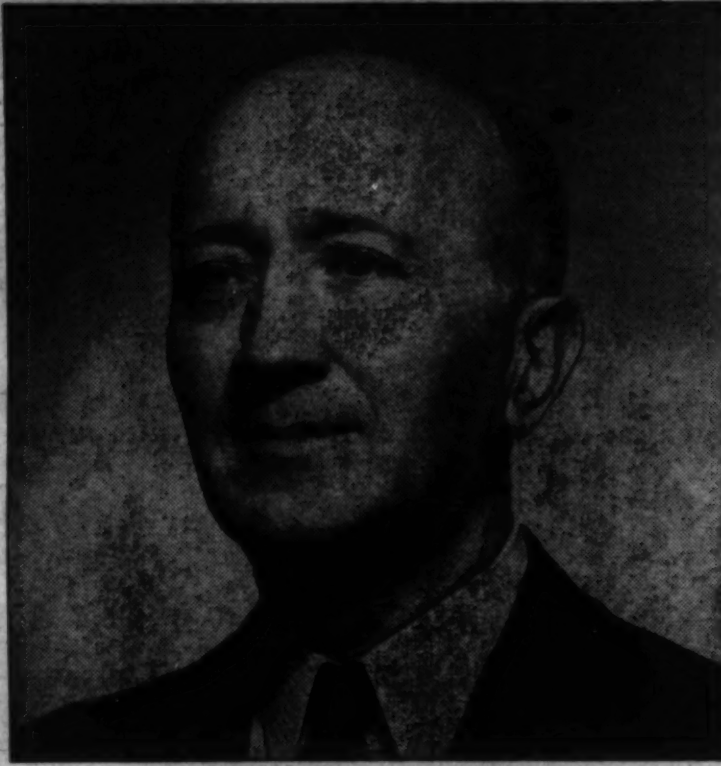
Mr. Eric Johnston, in his new book, *America Unlimited*, tells us of his recent "Mission to Britain." He says "I am fully convinced that there are no insurmountable obstacles to British-American co-operation." Yet he himself put forth a policy to the British which, if it is followed by our country, does constitute such an insurmountable obstacle, even if Mr. Johnston is unconscious of that fact. He told the British that Americans were "not persuaded" by Churchill's refusal to "preside over the liquidation" of the Empire, that America is anti-imperialist. Then he told them that America is going out for markets that they insist on "free competition," and will have no part of any system of division of markets by agreement; he insisted that the American "regards all powers, in government or in business, as subject to constant revision—by himself. . . . What this American is in America, he will also be in international affairs." In short, Mr. Johnston told the British that what share they would have in the world markets of the future would be what they could hold in unrestricted competition with America, or what they can maintain with their colonial monopoly.

With all due respect to Mr. Johnston's subjective good intentions, I maintain that this policy toward Britain is a disastrous one, which will continue to create enormous difficulties in the prosecution of the war, and which threatens to bring a great economic crisis upon the world after the war. It is short-sighted in respect to America's true national interests. It will prove impossible to maintain. Yet there can be no doubt that Mr. Johnston was accurately reflecting today's dominant opinion of ruling capitalist circles in this country.

I venture to suggest that Britain and America must arrive at an agreed economic policy for the joint development of the world markets on a huge scale, ten times the size of the pre-war markets, based upon the rehabilitation of devastated lands and the industrialization of the undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, the Near East, Latin America, and Europe. Since this requires free and independent peoples everywhere, the colonial system must be dismantled as quickly as possible; but as the colonial system is Britain's main reliance for a "place in the sun," Britain must receive compensation by being guaranteed a proportionate share in these markets, and the play of free competition must be limited by this agreement, which cannot be "subject to constant revision—by (the American) himself." Without such a guarantee Britain, as the economically weaker power, will under no circumstances surrender or relax her historical claims to colonial monopoly. And that would mean for America and for a large part of the world that the perspective for a vast increase of economic cooperation would vanish. Failure to arrive at some such agreement must eventually result in defeating the hopes of Teheran.

Postwar National Unity

The most disturbing influence against our national unity for victory in the war is the expectation



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that peace between nations will be the signal for the outbreak of great class struggles within the nation.

The needs of the war therefore dictate that we shall already now begin to lay the foundations for postwar national unity, so that this disturbing influence may be checked and if possible eliminated.

Our postwar plan is directed to achieve national unity for the realization of the perspectives laid down at Teheran.

That means, first of all, that we must find a program that will unite the democratic, progressive majority of the American people, of all classes, and that we shall not permit that majority to be split up and thus give the opportunity for the anti-Teheran forces to rise to power.

Such a program for America cannot be a socialist program, because there does not exist now in our country an actual or potential majority support for such a program.

Adherents of socialism, therefore, in order to be effective workers for unity within the broad democratic majority, must make it clear that they do not raise the issue of socialism in a form and manner which can endanger or weaken the national unity. They must subordinate their socialist convictions, on all practical issues, to the common program of the majority.

The United States is the only capitalist country in the world today in which the great majority rejects any proposal for fundamental changes in the existing economic and social system. It not only rejects socialism in any form, but it also sets itself against the trend toward state capitalism. Even the labor movement, CIO as well as AFL, adopts the defense of "free enterprise," and demands governmental intervention in economic life only to the degree that it is demonstratively required to make up for gaps left by the operation of private enterprise.

Eric Johnston has revealed in his recent book how he was astonished to find British capitalists indifferent to this American concept of "free enterprise," and how they even grew "angry" with some of his propagandizing efforts. He finds "the most formidable of the barriers" to cooperation between the two countries in "the difference in our respective approaches to postwar economy—ours from free enterprise assumptions, theirs from either government participation or monopoly bases." He records Lloyd George's admission that his "great mistake" as prime minister was to try to go back to "free enterprise in England" after World War I. "The English people do not want it," said Lloyd George.

It would be well, therefore, for Americans to rid themselves of the notion that our country is the model for all the world with

its economic system. All the world wants to copy our industrial technique, but no other country agrees to our economic system, not even England. On this question, America is much more isolated than is the Soviet Union. Our country stands literally alone on the question of "free enterprise."

As a matter of cold fact, however, as distinguished from ideology, "free enterprise" today is merely a synonym for capitalism as it exists; and the present stage of capitalist development is that of a high degree of trustification and monopoly, not only of the basic economy but even of the channels of retail distribution, far exceeding in its specific gravity in the total national economy that of other countries with a higher degree of formal state capitalism. "Free enterprise" means in practice the freedom of capital to concentrate and centralize itself in ever larger units, with a minimum of public regulation and control; while in relation to the world market it signifies opposition to all measures taken by trade rivals to offset the competitive advantages of American mass production.

It must be clear, however, that while we cannot adopt the ideology of "free enterprise" into our method of thinking, neither can we put forth its repudiation as a program for the democratic progressive majority of the nation. It is an ideology that is shared by the progressives with the reactionaries. It must be accepted as one of the political facts of life, that the program of the democratic progressive majority to which we adhere includes the defense of "free enterprise," and that we do not challenge this program.

We must, however, seek to bring the program of the democratic majority to face more squarely the practical problems that must be solved, and to deepen that program in such a form and manner which will secure a maximum of agreement and a minimum of opposition from both capital and labor, from business circles and the working classes. That can best be accomplished by concentrating attention upon specific problems rather than general ones, upon the concrete rather than the abstract upon action rather than philosophy. And in the final analysis, national unity must be built on the foundation of an economic program which does not contradict the prevailing ideology, yet which is workable in the world of reality and in which conflicting class and national interests can be reconciled.

An Economic Program

For National Unity and International Collaboration

The starting point for an economic program that meets the requirements we have noted is to be found in the general agreement

that American economy must operate at approximate full capacity in the postwar period, that approximately full employment of all workers must be maintained. To accomplish this aim, markets must be found for peace-time commodities equal to the war market for military goods, and the war market for consumption goods must also be replaced by a civilian peace market of equivalent volume. The total war market for which a substitute must be found is, if we take the figures of 1944 as our measure, around ninety billion dollars per annum.

It must be noted that under war conditions American economy has demonstrated such capacity for expansion that despite all restrictions upon consumption (such as the almost complete cessation of production of consumers' durable goods) the civilian market is still about as large as in any previous year of peace, if not larger. Since this is so clearly a response to war conditions, it seems to me that it is not sound to speculate that any considerable proportion of the replacement for the war market will occur spontaneously or automatically with the beginning of reconversion. The only sound course is to plan for new markets, which did not exist before, equal in volume to the war market which will come to an end.

Foreign markets demand first attention for many reasons. Politically they come first, as a necessary instrument of our foreign policy of reconciling conflicting interests and maintaining peace (although it must be noted that, improperly managed, our foreign trade may cause a severe intensification of these conflicts). Economically they take a primary place on account of foreign needs, since the rest of the world has been impoverished by the war that has enriched our country with a tremendously expanded economy; and because our own first need will be a market for machinery and other capital goods of which there already will exist a surplus here.

I have estimated that we require new foreign markets of about forty billions per annum, above what we would obtain in the course of business-as-usual, in order to guarantee with any seriousness the continued full operation of our economy. Orthodox economists have assured me that it is quite impossible to realize foreign markets of such magnitude, but I am unable to accept their verdict, since I refuse to accept the perspective of mass unemployment and economic crisis in the postwar period. If such markets are necessary to keep our industries in operation, then it is nonsense to say they cannot be realized.

The champions of "free enterprise" in its extreme form, which denies any economic function to government, are put to the test on this question of foreign markets. They must find and organize such markets, in time to prevent a great postwar economic crisis. If they cannot do it by their methods, then they must agree to governmental intervention which obviously can do it. All that is required is the same determination with which we carry the war to victory.

America's extraordinary achievements in war production are universally cited by business circles as a triumph of "the American way of life," of the system of private initiative, of our traditional capitalism. Very well, the argument is granted. But these achievements were on the basis of a governmentally-organized market, with the government itself as customer for most of the goods produced. Upon what grounds, then, can we say that the governmental organization of the necessary foreign market for the postwar period would not also be a triumph for "the American way of life," for the "free enterprise" system?

Our government can, in agreement with its great allies, and drawing into partnership the gov-

ernments of each territory directly involved, set up a series of giant industrial development corporations, for the various devastated and undeveloped regions of the world, Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America. The long-term credits that will be required will be no burden on America, but on the contrary will be an economic relief to us, as one of our greatest needs is for profitable fields of investment to put our vast sums of idle money to work. Such projects, underwritten by governments, would be the most secure of investments; the genius of American industrial engineering could guarantee their technical success; they would quickly start new streams of wealth flowing that would greatly exceed the original investments, which could be made self-liquidating within a generation if desired.

Only America has the potential ability to initiate and carry through such a program of international economic collaboration, which could furnish the medium of reconciliation of clashing special interests, of realizing the political program of Teheran for liberation of all peoples and a long-time peace. Only American initiative on such lines can realize the free collaboration of nations on the scale needed.

The necessary expansion of our domestic markets on an equal scale is more complicated and difficult. Yet it is equally necessary if we are to avoid a devastating economic crisis within a few years after the war ends.

There is never any lack of purchasing power in the country, as some persons mistakenly think, to provide a market for everything our economy can produce. What brings economic crises is not lack of purchasing power in general, but its lack at particular points where it could be effectively used. The problem is not one of creating purchasing power, but of mobilizing that which already exists.

In the final analysis the needed domestic market expansion can only be realized by increasing the consumption of the masses of the population, who are in great majority wage workers. That requires the raising of wage standards to the degree that we need a larger domestic market for maintaining full employment and production.

Higher wage standards, therefore, will be a national aim, a goal of public policy, and not merely a special interest of the labor movement as heretofore. Labor unions, in forwarding their special aims, will be serving the whole society, and will command a broader cooperation of all classes than ever before. This cannot however, be reached through the accumulated decisions of individual enterprises, but only through the simultaneous enforcement of such higher standards upon all individual enterprises; i.e., by stronger trade unions, by higher legal minimum wage levels, by guaranteed annual wages, by applying the rule of equal wages to equal work, by increased earnings commensurate with increased production. Such problems must be removed from the field of separate individual decisions and be regulated as questions of public policy.

Let it be quite clear that such an expansion of the domestic market has in it nothing whatever of socialism. There is not the slightest suggestion of confiscation of wealth, nor even of the war-time proposals for a limitation upon private incomes of the wealthy classes. On the contrary, this policy is consistent with the fullest possible expansion of consumption by the wealthy, and the accumulation of their private incomes above their consumption level in whatever form they see fit—just so long as it is not accumulated in the form of unused commodities that would fill the warehouses and result in halting further production. The economic policy we are proposing has only one must, one categorical imperative, in it: That is the unconditional demand that we

must keep all workers employed and all industries producing at approximate capacity, which means that the goods produced must be consumed by someone to make way for the new production. Strictly speaking, this policy could even be operated through the systematic destruction of surplus goods, replacing war-time destruction with a peace-time equivalent, but that is a variant against which I would most strongly argue on political grounds.

The essential outline of the economic problem is this: That full American production will furnish a stream of commodities which after satisfying the existing standard of living, selling as much abroad as possible, providing the wealthy classes with everything they can possibly consume, and making all practical new investments—will still provide a large and growing surplus which can only be disposed of by expanding the consumption (purchasing power) of the masses of the people who still have unsatisfied needs. These are mainly the working people.

This expansion of the domestic market must become even greater when our huge exports to the foreign market begin, with the expiration of the terms of credit, to be amortized, and with the flow back to America of earned profits on the investments. Eventually all our exports will flow back to America in augmented volume, in the form of a flood of goods which must also be consumed in one way or another.

Finally and over a period of years, therefore, the problem of replacing the war market is entirely one of expanding America's consumption until it is equivalent to our entire production.

America has such tremendous productive powers that we will surely choke to death with our surplus goods unless we learn how to consume them. The national gullet of consumption must be enlarged until it equals our scale of production. If we cannot learn how to do it under our existing system, then there will be no choice but to find another system that will balance the books.

We are proposing a policy which, if energetically carried out, will meet and solve all the most pressing problems of the immediate period, will give a basis for international peace and collaboration, will make possible an effective degree of unity within the nation with the expansion of well-being for all.

Democracy and National Unity

Many conflicting views and interests must learn how to come together on the basis of compromise in order to build and maintain national unity. But there is a line beyond which compromise is not permissible. We cannot compromise basic democratic principles without seriously damaging our national unity and helping Hitler.

The shameful spectacle of the U. S. Senate blocking the Marcanonio anti-polltax bill from coming to a vote is a typical case in point. The unholy alliance of polltax Senators, Dewey Republicans, and log-rolling politicians—usual northern Democrats excused their crime under the plea that to abolish the polltax would harm national unity because it would anger the southern Bourbons to the point where they would refuse to support the war. Ten million white and Negro workers and farmers are to continue to be denied the ballot because this little gang of political blackmailers threatens otherwise to sabotage the entire nation. Men who could not be elected otherwise, are thus continued in office with power of veto against the overwhelming majority of the nation. Such compromise with democratic principles is the deadliest enemy of American national unity.

So also with the whole Jim Crow system, the systematic vio-

lation of the U. S. Constitution by denial of equal citizenship to Negro Americans, their segregation in the Army, in housing and public places; the denial of equal economic opportunity; their special exploitation and oppression. The Jim Crow system is the outgrowth of the ideology of "white supremacy" which is just as shameful and dangerous for America as Hitler's identical racialism proved to be for Germany and the world. Jim Crow must go if America is to stand.

A direct importation from Nazi Germany is the spreading poison of anti-Semitism in America. Everyone who spreads anti-Semitism is enlisted in Hitler's fifth column. Anti-Semitism is a crime that must be outlawed as a measure of American national security.

Anti-communism, the doctrine of Hitler's "antikomintern" organization, is the most deadly of all Hitler's poisons because it has penetrated American society most deeply. We have the extraordinary spectacle of Americans who call themselves liberal, who would consider it outrageous to be called upon to be either Catholic or anti-Catholic, to be either Semitic or anti-Semitic, to be either Negro or anti-Negro, but who still consider it the most natural thing in the world that they and everyone else must be classified either as Communist or anti-Communist—and by anti-Communist understand the support of the public boycott of all those even suspected of Communist opinions, their exclusion from public employment and even from private industry, the dealing with Communist opinions as a kind of crime.

The anti-Communist doctrine is justified by those who claim to be liberals by analogy to the question of the Nazis. All decent persons must be anti-Nazi, and anyone who is not must be considered an enemy of mankind, to be exterminated or at least locked-up indefinitely. That is why we are making war to cleanse the earth of Nazis and all their friends. But it is very dangerous for anyone to extend this to justify being anti-Catholic, or anti-Semitic, or anti-Negro, or anti-Communist. For that would lead toward the conclusion that America must also exterminate the Catholics, the Jews, the colored races, and the Communists from the world. That is somewhat too big an order even for America!

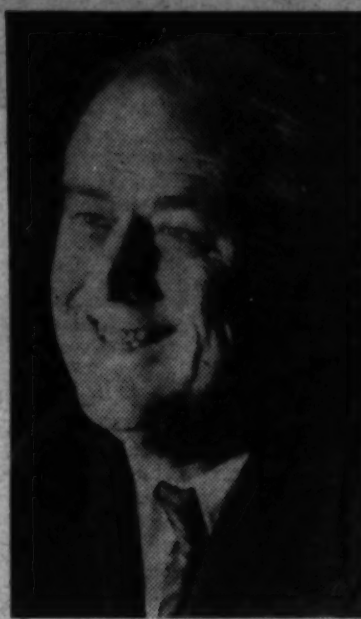
Catholics are an important minority of several countries we very much need as friends; the Jews have always made important contributions to human progress, and gave the western world its chief religion; the colored races happen to be a considerable majority of the human race, and the Communists just "happen" to be our most important allies in this war. Even considered from the most narrowly practical viewpoint, all these anti-ideologies, whether anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, anti-colored races, or anti-Communist, are the most dangerous and stupid mistakes for Americans. And they violate our best American tradition and philosophy as well as our basic law; they violate Christian ethics, as well as all other ethical principles that recognize the brotherhood of man. They are immoral as well as unprofitable.

If America wants to play a leading role in the world, we must defeat all these anti-democratic doctrines and practices; and we must retire from public life, and especially from all dealings with our partners in the United Nations all persons who are incurably afflicted with these divisive ideologies.

The 1944 Elections—Unity or Disunity

This is the first time that our country is entering the crucial hours of the war and our soldiers decisive battle with a national election on our hands.

We are the only great nation with such a rigid Constitution that elections come at set inter-



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

vals without regard to the actual problems with which the nation is confronted.

In this, as in so many other matters, we must take our world as we find it and do the best we can. Certainly we cannot take time out from the war to amend our Constitution, which would be more difficult than handling the election.

It is no use pretending, however, that the necessity to conduct elections this year is anything less than a dangerous strain on the national unity required for victory.

If the 1944 elections are carried through in the usual American spirit of recklessness, abandon, and irresponsibility, as a wild scramble for power, then indeed the result may be fatal to our hopes for early victory and a lasting peace.

The spirit of partisanship is today a most costly luxury which America cannot afford. Our problem is how to subdue and control the spirit of partisanship, how to conduct a national election in the spirit of national unity. It is not an easy task.

Our country faced a similar problem in 1864. Lincoln then decided, against his personal inclination and the demand of his enemies, to accept the presidential nomination and to transform the electoral struggle from a source of disunity in the nation into a means for reuniting the nation. He rose above party lines without conceding an inch to his opponents in matters of principle. He braved the anger of his own partisan supporters to substitute the union coalition for the Republican ticket and take the Union Southerner, Johnson, as his running mate. He subordinated everything to national unity and the national interest.

Roosevelt today faces a situation extraordinarily similar to that which was faced by Lincoln 80 years ago.

Can Roosevelt help the nation to unity and victory by conceding the demand of Republicans and the disloyal Democrats that he announce his retirement?

A moment's thought reveals that such a step would be a disaster for our country. Our enemies in the war would be encouraged to new efforts, our allies in the war would have deep misgivings, and our own country would be launched upon an uncharted sea of uncontrolled factionalism.

That is why the demand for Roosevelt to succeed himself has swept the Democratic Party so completely as to silence even most of the disloyal Democrats who have sabotaged the President's program. That is why the labor movement is almost unanimously demanding Roosevelt as candidate. That is why "Republicans for Roosevelt" clubs are springing up all over the country. That is why this convention will support Roosevelt.

This election must not be left in the hands of the old party machines of professional politicians. The extraordinary emergency in which our country finds itself calls for an extraordinary manner

of handling the election, that it may be transformed from a threat against national unity into a means of uniting the nation on a higher level.

We must learn how to rise above and dissolve old divisions and prejudices. We must achieve fraternization of former enemies. We must cross the old party lines. We must subdue the class antagonisms. We must dissolve the ancient feud between New Dealers and Old Dealers. We must weld a deeper unity of patriotic Americans than has been seen for generations. We must demonstrate that it is unprofitable for any candidate to display extreme partisanship. We must slap down the loudmouthed demagogue, expose the wily maneuverer, retire the old machine politicians to the background and begin to bring forward a new type of peoples' leadership.

The people, and especially the largest part of the people, which is "labor," must build their own organizations for political action, beginning in the neighborhoods and wards, extending to districts, towns, and cities, to the states and the nation as a whole. These organizations should be non-partisan, taking their stand on issues and judging candidates on their merits without regard to party labels.

That is the road to victory in the war and a peoples' victory in the election. The program of Teheran, the prospects for victory and a lasting peace, are at stake. Never has there been a greater challenge to the American people or a greater opportunity.

The Position of The Communists

This convention of American Communists, in confirmation of the deep seriousness of our program and perspective for national unity, renounces all aims of partisan advancement for ourselves. We have dissolved the Communist Party, and we are now forming a new non-party organization through which we expect to contribute to the common cause of the progressive majority of the American people. We will participate in political life as independents, through the established party organizations of our progressive associates, without committing ourselves to any party label. We will judge issues and men on their merits.

We remain an organization of Communists, of American men and women who hold that the principles of scientific socialism, of Marxism, have an indispensable contribution to make to our own nation. We will not permit, however, that any struggle over the question of socialism, for or against, shall be allowed to divide the progressive majority of the American people who must be kept united on the road of democracy and progress at all costs.

We are not retreating. We are advancing. We are advancing with the great majority of humanity to the cleansing of Hitlerism and its allies from the face of the earth. We are advancing with the majority of Americans to a more democratic and progressive America. We are advancing closer to the majority of the American people by bringing them a new and better understanding of our role as a sector in their ranks. We are advancing a clearer understanding of what is socialism by the very act of removing the issue as the center of political struggles today. We are advancing in the strength of our own ranks, as witnessed by the successful recruiting of more than 22,000 new members in the very weeks of most intense political discussion leading to the historic decision to dissolve the Communist Party, and this present convention to set up a new organization that will grow much stronger in the time ahead. We stand firmly on the program of Teheran, which is America's program for war and peace.

(The End)

Dennis Report for Resolutions Committee

Excerpts from the report by Eugene Dennis for the Committee on Officers' Reports and Resolutions follows:

The committee endorses and is in full agreement with Comrade Browder's keynote address, and at this time wishes to place before the convention the main political resolution based upon his report.

Several comrades have recommended that we should place greater emphasis on what they term the "early collapse of Hitlerism" and the "imminent military defeat of Nazi Germany." Your committee does not believe that this estimation is entirely accurate. Moreover, we consider that to place the question this way might tend to engender moods of complacency and false optimism.

For what is the real state of affairs regarding the European theatre of the war? As we correctly stress in the resolution, the war against Hitler Germany and its satellites is entering a new phase. The historic role of the Soviet Union and the greatness of its Red Army, together with the mounting military efforts of our country and Britain, as well as the heroic struggles of the partisans in the occupied countries, have tremendously weakened Nazi Germany and its satellites, have shaken German imperialism to its foundations, and have created the conditions for hastening the victorious conclusion of the war.

THE United Nations now enter the final and most decisive stage of the military struggle against the Hitlerites. Victory can be won relatively soon; but it will not come easily or automatically. It will not come solely as a consequence of the magnificent efforts of our invincible Soviet ally. Nor will it come magic-like on the wings of our gallant airmen. Victory requires the smashing of the main armed forces of the fascist enemy. It requires the coordinated and sustained might of the simultaneous powerful military offensives from the west and south, together with those from the east, such as are now in process of being launched. . . .

Your committee also had before it for consideration a proposal to incorporate in the resolution the slogan, "Victory over Hitlerism in 1944." In our judgment it is possible to bring about the defeat of Hitlerite Germany in 1944 through the maximum concerted military action of America, Britain and the USSR. However, we deem it inadvisable at this moment to try and sloganize this perspective and possibility. For this might tend to obscure the enormous tasks ahead to mobilize our country for the unprecedented and gigantic battles which still have to be fought and won.

Also, the use of this slogan might be the cause of dispute and friction among certain circles within the anti-Hitler camp precisely at the moment when the greatest unity is needed to vigorously carry through to the end the Allied invasion of Europe.

But in rejecting the proposed amendment, it is clear that we do not reject the intent and aim in the slogan. On the contrary, we consider it necessary to make clear before the nation that the chief and fundamental political-military question now confronting the United Nations is to seize on the present opportunity to reduce the length of the war and speed victory.

IN this connection we wish to emphasize that it is incumbent upon all patriotic forces to continue to unmask and isolate the cautious calculators who counsel that the main Anglo-American blows should be delayed and that the scope of the Second Front should be limited. For these forces would prolong the war and make it more costly. They en-

danger victory and bring grist to the mills of the appeasers who are working for a compromise peace with the Nazis and their Japanese confederates.

Moreover, it is essential to place the nation on guard against the reckless and subversive policies of the defeatists and their fifth column. For now, on the eve of the most decisive military battles and the final phase of the national election campaign, these treacherous forces are increasing their activity. They are trying to undermine the position of our Commander-in-Chief. They are renewing their slanders and attacks upon our Allies. They are instituting strike provocations. They are fomenting class hatred, as well as religious and nationality antagonisms. They are preparing to seize upon the difficulties and heavy casualties which will result from the opening of the Second Front in order to try and create moods of panic, distrust and defeatism. . . .

Finally, on this point, we believe that the soundest, the most effective and constructive way to raise the question and to facilitate the earliest victory over Hitlerism is to clearly place before the American people the all-decisive question of ensuring the most rapid fulfillment of the agreements of Teheran. For the essence of Teheran, the heart and core of its historic accords, lies in welding the firmest unity of action of the American-Soviet-British coalition, especially now in the development of full coalition warfare. It is precisely this phase of Teheran which is now being unfolded and must be resolutely supported, and upon which the edifice of an enduring peace and a united family of freedom-loving nations can and will be constructed.

AMONG the proposed amendments to the original draft resolution, it has been suggested that we indicate more clearly in the resolution the role of American leadership in helping win the war and in solving the problems of the peace. Your committee is in agreement with this proposal and has endeavored to incorporate this idea at the end of Section 2 of the resolution.

We, of course, are opposed to the concept of American leadership as advanced by a Henry Luce, a Herbert Hoover, or a Lamont duPont. For we are opposed to, and do not conceive American leadership as American domination or rule over the world or over subject nations.

HOWEVER, we Communists have always advocated America's democratic leadership and initiative in international affairs. This is why, for instance, we consistently fought over the years for America's leading participation in a system of collective security to quarantine the aggressors, to stop fascism and war. This, too, is why we have steadfastly advocated since the beginning of this people's war of national liberation that the U.S.A. should take the leadership in developing a close and long-range alliance with the Soviet Union and the other United Nations to achieve victory and establish a durable peace. This is why we are proud of the initiative and great contributions of President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull in helping bring to fruition the Moscow and Teheran conferences and accords. For in our opinion, the fulfillment of the agreement of Teheran will, among other things, enable America to play a leading and decisive role in the world, to assure its progressive destiny.

OF COURSE, there are some persons like Messrs. Hearst and McCormick who allege that the international commitments entered into at Teheran by our

President and Commander-in-Chief constitute a forfeiture of American sovereignty and national interests, a "surrender to Moscow and Downing Street." There are others who claim that the concords of Teheran, as well as of Moscow, signify the resurrection of "power politics," of a big stick wielded by the "Big Three." And there are other gentlemen akin to these, like Mr. Dewey, who choose to veil their hostility to Teheran by evasion and silence.

Suffice it to note in passing that the agreement of Teheran does not represent the sole interests of any single country, but the common interests of America, Britain and the Soviet Union and all other freedom-loving peoples. Moreover, it is only by the fullest democratic participation and influence of labor and the people in the affairs of our nation, and by resolutely pursuing the policy of Teheran—of firmer alliance with the Soviet Union and Britain—that America will be able to contribute its full part in expediting victory and in effecting a lasting peace. . . .

Further, it is only by a policy of amity and cooperation of the two most powerful nations in the world, of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. that America's leading position in the world can be advanced, that the political and economic ties and influence can be enhanced. Whereas the policy of the Hearsts and McCormicks, of the anti-Teheran and Munichite forces, of the advocates of chauvinistic and imperialistic "nationalism" would isolate and weaken America, would surround us with enemies instead of friends, would create economic chaos and instability, and would embroil us in wars and internal strife.

As for the cry that Teheran ushers in power politics, the following should be stated: Teheran does signify power: the power of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the joint power of the United Nations to crush Hitlerism and the Axis. This power is harnessed to policy, to the policy of democratic aims and the alliance of the liberty-loving nations.

The power of Teheran, of course, is the denial of power to the forces of fascism, of aggression, of appeasement. For it is power in the service of the peoples. It is power in the furtherance of the war effort of America, and all the United Nations, of our national security and a peaceful future. . . .

UNDoubtedly, one of the severest tests of our national unity will take place in the next months, during the final period of the crucial presidential and congressional election campaign. For this will coincide with the heaviest fighting on the military fronts. This too will materialize amidst the most desperate efforts of the appeasers and defeatists to seize the reins of governmental power and to steer America onto the path of a "soft" peace, a negotiated peace with the Hitlerites and the Mikado.

Precisely now voices are being raised, even within the labor movement, advocating that labor and the other win-the-war forces should abandon an electoral policy of national unity, of non-partisanship—a policy of unity which is so essential to influence the most effective prosecution of the war, as well as victory in the elections.

For instance, some progressives figure that since Hoover's candidate Dewey is the most likely Republican presidential nominee, and since on a national scale the pro-fascists are operating on the electoral field primarily through the Republican Party; and on the other hand, since President Roosevelt is the non-partisan candidate of the majority of the American people—that, therefore, in view of all this, labor should

assert itself not only in more active support of Roosevelt, but also more directly in behalf of the Democratic Party as a whole.

On the surface this might seem plausible, especially since in most states and congressional districts, the majority of candidates who are the best supporters of Roosevelt and the nation's war policy are participating in the elections as candidates of the Democratic Party. Yet, on second thought, a deepened analysis of political events and alignments will show that all factors, including the outcome of the primaries, require that labor and the people pursue a resolute course of anti-fascist national unity now and throughout the elections, as well as after the war.

INSO FAR as the elections are concerned, suffice it to re-emphasize that the war is not yet won, that all patriotic forces, irrespective of party affiliation, need to be unified to assure victory in the elections and the successful conclusion of the war. But a partisan election approach would divide, not unify, the nation. It would militate against the reelection of President Roosevelt. . . .

Secondly, it should be noted that the results of all the primaries reveal that both the Democratic and the Republican Parties received in most cases a minority vote in comparison with the total registered electorate; that only a non-partisan, win-the-war policy can enlist the active support of the independent voters, as well as an influential section of the Republican adherents; and that whereas the majority of the Republican candidates are aligned with the reactionary Hoover-Taft-Vandenberg forces, some 20 million patriotic American citizens traditionally vote for or support the candidates of the Republican Party.

Further, only a policy of national unity, of genuine non-partisanship in support of the President and the Government's war program, can unite and mobilize the bulk of labor, organized and unorganized. Only such a policy can make labor's growing independent political strength fully effective and decisive. For only a policy of national unity for victory, could enable the labor movement to develop such an effective nationwide crusade as it has organized for the Fourth Term. Only such a policy could enable the people to defeat or eliminate such reactionary anti-Roosevelt candidates as Dies, Starnes and Costello, or carrying about the defeat of a Fish or a Nye, as well as the reelection of a Marcantonio. . . .

IT IS clear that only a policy of national unity in the elections can and will succeed in influencing all forces, from the most progressive to the conservatives, to rise above partisan considerations and support the continuation of the anti-Axis leadership of our President and Commander-in-Chief, as well as bring about the election of a coalition Congress pledged to victory.

And by a policy of national unity and non-partisanship in the elections we mean concretely this: the organization of the most extensive unity of action of all patriotic Americans around President Roosevelt. We mean opposition to and not neutrality toward any candidate running against the Commander-in-Chief. We mean, further concerted action of all patriots to eliminate from public life the obstructionists and defeatists of whatever party label, and to elect a Congress and state legislatures dedicated to victory over fascism, and representative of the democratic majority of the people.

In line with this, it is necessary among other things, to scuttle and defeat the so-called Third Party movements such as have been initiated in Michigan and Illinois by the Trotskyites and the anti-war Social-Democrats, as well as the

divisive Fourth Party movement of Dubinsky in New York. For these movements which parade under the guise of independent labor and liberal political action, are in reality reactionary political diversions designed to divide the camp of national unity and to hamstring labor's full contribution to the war and victory in the elections.

In combating these bogus and disruptive Third Party movements which are being organized in the present election campaign as instruments of opposition to the war, Roosevelt and the great CIO Political Action movement—we, of course, do not take a position of opposition to third parties in principle. We Communists understand that today, under wartime conditions, a policy of electoral non-partisanship, of judging men and issues on their merits instead of by party labels, is decisive for pursuing an intelligent and effective policy of national unity in these fateful elections. We recognize that labor's independent political role in the election campaign can be advanced only along the path of labor's unity, its independent and many-sided organization and activity, and by working in concert with all other patriotic forces.

However, we Communists also recognize that the American two-party system and the alignments within and around the major parties are changing. We understand that today the Democratic and Republican parties represent various coalitions and groupings—some pre-war and some anti-war, some pro-fascist and others anti-fascist. We know that after the 1944 elections the organized political movement of labor, of the Negro people and of other democratic forces which are now operating through the existing two-party system—primarily today through the channels of the Democratic Party—may initiate and undergo still further changes.

But whatever form political realignments may take after the 1944 elections—whether primarily through an existing party or through the organization of a third political party, as a major party in the country—its main base and leadership will come from the working class and popular forces, in alliance with all win-the-war forces in both major parties and it will represent, under new conditions, the main patriotic forces of national unity which are now functioning through the two-party system. In other words, a new party alignment should and must represent the decisive majority of the people and not a small and isolated minority.

BE THIS as it may, it is clear that now as never before victory in the elections, the reelection of the President and the election of a Congress which will support the government, will require not only the greatest clarification of all win-the-war issues, but likewise the further unity and independent mobilization of the people, especially of labor, AFL as well as CIO. It will necessitate the maximum mass registration of all voters, including guarantees for providing the opportunity to vote for all servicemen. It will require the continued organization of varied independent, non-partisan, political organizations and movements of the workers, the farmers, the city middle classes, the Negro people, the youth, as well as of the wives, parents and sweethearts of the servicemen.

But this can only be effectively adhered to on the basis of the broadest unity of action of all patriotic forces, regardless of class and party affiliation, in support of the President and the nation's war-policy, in support of a resolute win-the-war Congress, in behalf of the objectives of Teheran and the concrete immediate demands of the people.